















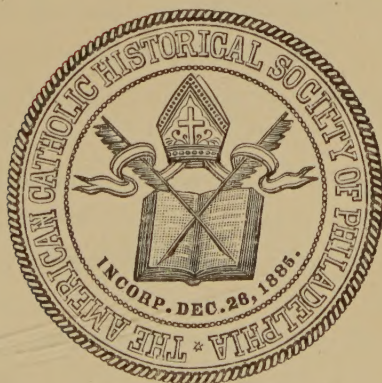




RECORDS  
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OF  
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OF THE

## American Catholic Historical Society

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## PHILADELPHIA.

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## AN OLD-TIME CATHOLIC PIONEER OF LANSING- BURGH, N. Y. (A. D. 1767-1842).

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BY REV. THOMAS C. MIDDLETON, D.D., O.S.A.

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In the early years of this century one of the most prominent Catholics of Lansingburgh, N. Y., and chief of the incorporators of the first Catholic church in that village, was Keating Rawson, the son of James Rawson, an Irish gentleman.

Keating Rawson was born on Saturday, August 15, 1767, at Glassealy, his father's country seat, in the town of Dunlavin in county Wicklow, Ireland. His mother was a German lady, whose name has failed to come down to her descendants.

The name "Keating," given to the son of James Rawson, was in memory of Lord Keating a friend of his father's family. The Rawsons were of English descent. Burke's book of heraldry, the *Armorie of England, Scotland and Ireland*, says that "The Ravensons or Rawsons are of ancient lineage. In *The Visitation of the County of York* in 1585, a pedigree is given of eight generations, beginning with Richard Rawson of Fryston who flourished in the time of Richard II." As regards the Irish branch of this family, the Rawsons came to Ireland sometime during the reign of Henry VIII of unsavory memory. The first of the name in Ireland to acquire a very unenviable notoriety was Sir John Rawson, one of the lords of the privy council, lord treasurer of Ireland and a knight of the Order of Rhodes.

In 1541, November 22, Sir John, while prior of Kilmainham, a possession of the knights in the county of Dublin, surrendered to the crown, with the assent of the chapter and under their common seal, the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham and the immense possessions belonging to the Order in Dublin, Clontarf and other places.

The *Statistical Survey of the County of Kildare, &c.*,\* says, (at p. xxi,) that the surrender was made on "March 23," in the 33rd year of Henry VIII. In compensation for this surrender the king by letters patent dated at Windsor, the same year, conferred on Sir John Rawson a yearly pension of five hundred marks, and created him "Viscount of Clontarfe." Sir John died in 1560.

The Rawsons by right were entitled to bear the following coat of arms, viz. :—"Per fesse sable and azure, a castle with four towers in perspective silver; in base two bars undée of the last, a canton ermine." Their crest is "out of clouds proper, a cubit arm, vested and cuffed gules, charged with a rose silver, the hand azure grasping an anchor fesseways gold"; and the family motto is "*Laus virtutis actio*," that is—the *praise of valor lies in the doing*.

So much for the ancestry of the main subject of my paper and the political loyalty of Sir John Rawson.

But few facts relating to the early life of Keating Rawson have been handed down to us of the present day. In accordance with the usage common in good families of the time, it is probable that he was educated at home by private tutors.

In 1785, Keating Rawson married Annie Eustace at the bride's ancestral home, known as Ballymore-Eustace, in the county of Kildare.

The Eustaces claim descent from the Roman hero Eustachius, otherwise known as Placidus, a Christian

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\* By Thomas James Rawson, Esq., a member of The Dublin Society, printed in Dublin in 1807 by Graisberry and Campbell.



soldier and martyr for the Cross during the reign of the emperor Trajan.\*

Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*† says that the Eustaces came into England under the Saxon kings, and into Ireland sometime during the reign of Henry II, about A.D. 1172.

The Fitz Eustace family, (for such was the Norman form of their name,) possessed in Ireland one half of the county of Kildare, and the Fitz Gerald's the other half.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth Lord Baltinglas, the head of the Eustace family, lost his title, his estates and his life in penalty for his loyalty to God and his lawful sovereign. He was beheaded, and the English parliament passed a peculiar act, known as the "Statute of Baltinglas," by which were confiscated to the crown the estates of the Eustaces in Ireland.

Unlike the Rawsons, who had become warm, if not rabid, followers of the "new religion," the Eustaces always remained steadfast in their allegiance to the Catholic Faith, throughout the bitter and most inhuman persecution of the old religion by the English crown. A great deal of information relating to the Rawson and Eustace families, of which I have availed myself merely of a tithe, may be gathered in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Peerages of Ireland*.

The marriage of Keating Rawson with Annie Eustace was strongly but ineffectually opposed by both families, partly on account of the difference in religion between the two chief contracting parties, and partly on the score of the bridegroom's youth, Keating Rawson being only eighteen years of age, and his bride some three years his senior. Still, their married life turned out a singularly happy one. In Ireland, two children, the only ones they had, were born to them—Sara, in 1790, and Robert Eustace in 1792.

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\* In the *Roman Martyrology* the feast of St. Eustachius, or Eustace, as we would render it in English, is set down for the 20th of September.

† See edition of 1762, pp. 293-4.

Of Sara Rawson, afterwards wife of John Tracy of Lansingburgh, we will have occasion to speak further on. Of her brother Robert Eustace Rawson, we may say here briefly that he was brought to the United States by his parents, died unmarried in Albany, on Monday, March 28, 1814, aged twenty-two years; and that his remains, first interred in the Protestant Episcopal cemetery at Lansingburgh, were removed to the Catholic cemetery, known as the "old graveyard," in the same village, on December 24, 1829, the day of his mother's funeral. The Protestant Episcopal graveyard is across the street just opposite the present Catholic church of St. Augustine.

In 1794, Keating Rawson and his young wife bidding farewell to their native land sailed with their infant son for the New World, leaving behind them their little daughter Sara in charge of her aunt Nancy, her father's favorite sister and wife of Captain Fenton. Mrs. Nancy Fenton, the same as all her relatives, was a member of the Church of England.

On his arrival in America Mr. Rawson settled down for a while in New York city, long enough for him to learn the business, in which he subsequently engaged in Lansingburgh, when he took up his residence there in 1795. Keating Rawson was not rich in worldly goods, nor even in after life did his open-handedness allow him to amass great wealth. His marriage with a Catholic of so well tried principles as Annie Eustace had, (as unfortunately is the case not wholly unheard-of even in our day,) alienated from him all his kinsmen and acquaintances. It was mainly because of this estrangement, that Keating Rawson was compelled to seek a living and a home in a foreign land. Though well-educated, yet being without any professional knowledge, he established a tannery—a venture, in which his New York training gave him likely grounds for success.

In 1820, the *Lansingburgh Gazette*, published in its issue for Tuesday, October 3, Mr. Rawson's advertisement,

which reads as follows,—“HIDES, LIVER OIL, GURRY, and Morocco Leather. Just received, and for sale by the Subscriber—500 first quality Spanish Hides, 453 New-York slaughter Hides, trimmed and salted, all in prime order, 40 barrels OIL and GURRY, *Also*, A large supply of well assorted MOROCCO LEATHER, with suitable binding, in the roll and skin. First quality Currier's Knives & other Tools. Good Leather will be received in payment for the above articles, at the market prices.” This advertisement is signed “Keating Rawson,” and is dated “Lansingburgh, June 9, 1820.”

About the year 1822, when his son-in-law John Tracy, husband of Sara Rawson, came to Lansingburgh to live, Mr. Rawson entered with him into the business of malt-brewing, and built the malting houses now known as Nos. “I” and “II.” The firm name was Rawson and Tracy. Subsequently, this was after the death of both Keating Rawson and John Tracy, the latter's son Edward built two other malt-houses now numbered “III” and “IV.” \*

Up to about the year 1820, Keating Rawson had continued to profess the religion of his immediate forefathers—the Church of England. From 1810–1816, he was one of the vestrymen of Trinity (Episcopal) Church in Lansingburgh. But about the year 1820, induced perhaps by the exemplary life of his pious and loving spouse, he made his profession of the Catholic Faith. It has been somewhere written that Keating Rawson, (misspelled “Lawson,”) was received into the Church at Albany in 1822 by the Right Reverend John Connolly, Bishop of New York, along with a certain Miss Eldridge.† But careful researches made in

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\* I have given the numbers of these malt-houses, as in one of them was celebrated, (for the first time, it is believed,) the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass at Lansingburgh.

† See *The Catholic Church in the United States*, etc., by Henry De Courcy, New York, 1856, page 394; and, also, the *Reminiscences of Rev. John Shanahan* in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. II, page 105, who gives the same date for Mr. Rawson's reconciliation as Mr. De Courcy, and also adds that at this time, (namely 1822,) the Rev. Richard Bulger was pastor of St. Mary's Church in Albany.

1890 by the writer of this paper through friends in Albany and New York city had no other result than to show that neither at St. Mary's in Albany nor the Cathedral in New York city could any record be discovered in the parish registers of either place of Keating Rawson's, or Miss Eldridge's,\* (not Eldredge's,) baptism or reconciliation with the Church. So much for the lack of any positive evidence of Keating Rawson's admission into the Catholic Church either at Albany, or New York, in "1822."

Moreover, De Courcy states that it was Bishop Connolly that received Keating Rawson into the Church, while Fr. Shanahan appears to intimate that it was Rev. Richard Bulger. The whole contention is one of comparatively little moment and might be left untouched. Still facts being facts we will quote from letters of Keating Rawson himself, copies of which are now before us, that go far to show that his reception into the Church antedated by quite a considerable while the year "1822." In 1821, April 13, Mr. Rawson, writing from Lansingburgh to his son-in-law John Tracy, at the time in New York city, says,—“Your mother and I were at Mass last Sunday. Mr. Carroll said Mass, and I will not say preached, for he read from a paper with his eyes fixed on it. However, he is a priest and we needed one very much. Mr. Kelly will preach perhaps next Sunday. The two gentlemen promised to be with us yesterday, but they did not come, nor did they send any excuse. . . . Surely a man of talent ought to be sent to the Capital of this great State.”

The two priests referred to in this letter as “Mr. Carroll” and “Mr. Kelly” were the Rev. Michael Carroll and the Rev. John Kelly, of whom we will have more to say further on.†

In another letter dated “March 16, 1821,” Mr. Rawson

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\* Following this paper will be found a short sketch of Miss Nancy Eldridge.

† Up to some forty or fifty years ago, the appellative commonly given to a priest, was not Father, but *Mister*, the same as now amongst Catholics at least is almost exclusively reserved for laymen.



tells his son-in-law that,—“ Dr. O’Gorman heard from Philadelphia lately. It appeared that Hogan is gaining strength there. He will not relish my interference with him. Let us have all the news you can, and try to find out the probability of our having a priest this Lent or even at Easter.”

The “ Dr. O’Gorman,” named in this letter, was the Rev. Michael Gorman, or O’Gorman, who was located at this time at Albany, N. Y.; and the Hogan, who, Mr. Rawson says, will not relish his “ interference,” was the Rev. William Hogan of St. Mary’s church in Philadelphia, who won for himself such an unenviable name through his schismatical outbreak there against Bishop Conwell.

Again in a letter to his son-in-law, dated “ February 16, 1821,” Mr. Rawson refers to the recent church troubles in Philadelphia. In it he says,—“ I was happy that Sally ” [his daughter] “ was able to write, but deeply grieved that the Catholics of Philadelphia should have acted as they have. In fact, they are not Catholics. Great God ! when will this disobedience to Superiors end ? Surely in separation. So Hogan, Luther-like, has censured in his turn. I suppose he will, if excommunicated, return the compliment and hold up the letter written by the Trustees in which they pronounce *the two Hogans* such priests as they would wish over them. . . . It is likely Taylor and I will meet in the spring. I fear him not with all his titles. *I am fully a Catholic.* Let nothing be done without the Bishop’s consent—as *Catholics we* must feel grieved at the present dreadful state of things. We must pray earnestly to God to restore concord to His distracted Church.”

In a fourth letter from Mr. Rawson to Mr. Tracy, dated “ January 2, 1821,” we read as follows,—“ Dear John I have received yours of Dec. 28. I am not surprised at the suspension of Mr. Hogan, but I did not suppose that Catholics would give their Bishop such a reception.”

In a letter of still earlier date, to John Tracy, dated "Lansingburgh, August 22, 1820," Mr. Rawson says,— "Tell Dr. O'Gorman that we have expected him for a long time. Dear good man! he will now, I fear, have full employment in attending the sick, but I trust God will preserve his faithful servant. Tell him and our worthy Bishop, that the Catholics around us mourn the want of a priest, and ask how long they are to be left in this wretched situation." And in a still earlier letter, dated "Lansingburgh, June 10, 1820," Mr. Rawson tells his son-in-law of the Rawsons in Ireland, who were then as their descendants are now, warm adherents of the Act of Parliament Church. "They seem," so writes Mr. Rawson, "to be very much concerned about our eternal happiness; we should have the same concern for theirs. At all events, I wish your wife, my only remaining child, to be reunited to the *one true church*, whenever her conscience will approve the act." (This is certainly not the language of a non-Catholic.)

We may therefore assert that Keating Rawson was reconciled to the Church of his fathers at least as early as the year 1820. So much for his reception into the Catholic Church. As regards the name of the officiating priest we are wholly in the dark. From Mr. Rawson's letters just quoted, it appears that during the years 1820-1, Fathers Carroll, Kelly and Gorman ministered to the Catholics of Lansingburgh. May it not have been that one of these received Mr. Rawson into the Church? or, may be that he was received in New York city on some one of his visits to his son-in-law? Rev. Michael Carroll, whom Mr. Rawson names in one of his letters, is the first priest who as far as known was associated with the Lansingburgh mission in any official capacity. Rev. William Hogan, subsequently of Philadelphia, also ministered to the Lansingburgh Catholics. In 1820, he was present and officiated at the marriage of Mr. Rawson's daughter Sara with John Tracy. This we know positively from family



documents now in the hands of descendants of Keating Rawson.

It should be premised that for the first twenty-five years or so of this century the priests located at Albany had charge—an immense care—of all the faithful in the surrounding districts now comprised in the diocese of Albany.

The following extract from *The Laity's Directory* for the year 1822 will give some idea of the vast territory these missionaries covered in the course of their official visitations. On pages 104-6, the *Directory* says that the diocese of New York comprised the whole state of New York together with the northern part of New Jersey; that there were only seven churches in this diocese, namely, two in New York city, the cathedral (St. Patrick's), and St. Peters; one each in Albany, Utica, Auburn, Patterson, N. J., and Carthage, N. Y.; and that the clergymen officiating in the diocese (for this same year) were almost as few as the churches, namely, nine in all—the Rt. Rev. John Connolly, bishop, and Rev. Michael O'Gorman at St. Patrick's cathedral, and Rev. Charles Ffrench and Rev. John Power at St. Peter's church in New York city; Rev. Richard Bulger at Patterson, N. J.; Rev. Michael Carroll at Albany and vicinity; Rev. John Farnan, or Farnham, at Utica and vicinity; Rev. Patrick Kelly at Auburn, Rochester, and other districts in the western part of the State; and Rev. Philip Lariscy, (misspelled "Larissy,") an Augustinian, who, the *Directory* observes, attended "regularly at Staten-Island, and different other congregations along the Hudson River." This was in 1822, or more correctly perhaps in 1821, as the *Directory* was doubtless compiled as it is at present from data gathered in the year preceding its date of issue.

But to return to Lansingburgh mission. The earliest mention that I have found of the mission of Lansingburgh is on page 105 of the above-named *Directory* of 1822.

There it says that "the clergyman officiating at Albany visits occasionally Troy, Lansingburgh, Johnstown and Schenectady;" and, (on page 106,) names Rev. Michael Carroll as missionary in charge of Albany and the above outlying missions. This Fr. Carroll is the one that Mr. Rawson refers to in his letter of April 13, 1821, and is the earliest missionary whom I have observed to be associated with the Lansingburgh church.

As far as is positively known, Mass was first celebrated at Lansingburgh, in a building owned by Keating Rawson. This building is the malt-house still standing known at present as malt-house "No. 1." Its owner is Keating Rawson's grandson Edward Tracy. In this malt-house—one of the two he built—Mr. Rawson had a large room appropriately fitted up for divine services, and here Mass was said, whenever opportunity offered, for the faithful of Lansingburgh and Waterford.

The date of the first celebration of the Holy Sacrifice and the name of the celebrant are unknown. It may very easily have been that Rev. Michael Carroll said Mass here as early as 1820, the presumptive date of Mr. Rawson's conversion.

Tradition has it by the way that in the early years of this century, long before 1820, the faithful of the neighboring village of Waterford, just across the Hudson River, were wont to come to Lansingburgh for Mass, and used the stepping-stones in the river to cross over dry-shod. Now the bridge, known as Union Bridge, between the two villages was built in 1804. Unless then the Waterfordians were led to use the stepping-stones in order to avoid paying toll, which is barely supposable, or unless the bridge was closed on certain days, Sundays for instance, as might have been the case, Mass, it seems, must have been celebrated in Lansingburgh prior to the year 1804. But this, as has been noted, is merely a tradition of the old-time villagers, and the time has gone by for verifying its truth or falsity. It should however be borne in mind that Mr.

Rawson and his Catholic spouse had been residents of Lansingburgh since the year 1795.\*

The Rev. Michael Carroll is then the first priest that is known positively to have visited the Catholics of Lansingburgh in the performance of his missionary duties. The next priest, who visited the village, was the Rev. John Kelly. We named him on a preceding page. He was a brother of Eugene Kelly, lately deceased, the banker, so widely known and esteemed for his sterling patriotism and his goodness to the poor, of New York city. Fr. Kelly is named by Mr. Rawson in his letter of April 13, 1821. For one year, on his occasional visits to Lansingburgh, Fr. Kelly made his home at John Tracy's house. Records of the Tracy family attest this fact. He was also at Lansingburgh in 1829.

In the *Catholic Almanac* for 1834 Fr. Kelly's residence is given at Sandy Hill. Subsequently, he accompanied Bishop Gartland on his mission to Liberia in Africa, and on his return thence was engaged in parish work in Jersey City, N. J., where he died. After Fr. Kelly, came Rev. Gregory Bryan Pardow, an Englishman, the eldest son of George Pardow and his wife Elizabeth Seaton. Fr. † Pardow is known to have ministered to the faithful at Lansingburgh for the whole of one winter, where he lodged at the house of John Tracy.

But it is not known in what years Fathers Kelly and Pardow visited in Lansingburgh. It was probably before 1833. In this, as well as the following year, the *Catholic Almanac* names Rev. John Shanahan as residing in Troy and in charge of Lansingburgh mission. Fr. Shanahan resided in Troy sometime prior to 1833, and is the first

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\* For the names of the missionary priests stationed at Albany, any one of whom may have attended the Catholics of Lansingburgh and its neighborhood, the reader may consult the Clergy List I have appended to this paper.

† Born November 9, 1804, Gregory B. Pardow was educated at Stonyhurst College, in England, at Rome, and later on at St. Mary's College, in Baltimore, Md. Ordained September 8, 1829, by Bishop Dubois of Brooklyn, he was first rector of the first Catholic church at Newark, N. J., and died April 25, 1838.

missionary in what is now the diocese of Albany, who seems to have had a charge separate and independent from St. Mary's church in Albany. The Catholics of Troy and the surrounding country were incorporated on Monday, Feb. 19, 1827; this is the date of their charter; and in the same year their first church was built and blessed, in honor of St. Peter, Apostle. St. Peter's is the second church in the diocese by rank of seniority, St. Mary's of Albany being the first.

With the arrival of Fr. Shanahan at Troy, the Catholics of Lansingburgh ceased to depend on Albany for the ministrations of religion and were now attended from Troy. In the *Catholic Almanacs* for 1839-40, Lansingburgh is named with Waterford as being attended once a month from Troy by Rev. James Quinn, who was Fr. Shanahan's assistant. Besides these two missions Fr. Quinn also attended "North Grenville, Minerva, Buskirksbridge, Mechanicville, Hoosick Falls and Schaghticoke occasionally."

In the *Almanac* of 1841, Rev. Francis Coyle is named as the missionary in charge of Lansingburgh. It says that he resided at Sandy Hill; the church there, which was founded in 1833, was known first as "Christ's Church" and afterwards as St. Mary's. From Sandy Hill, Fr. Coyle used to attend Lansingburgh and Waterford once a month, Buskirk's Bridge, Mechanicville, Hoosick Falls and Schaghticoke, occasionally; and in 1842, also Cambridge. (This was the year of Keating Rawson's death.) Fr. Coyle, afterwards resident at Lansingburgh, was, in 1844, succeeded at Sandy Hill by Rev. Joseph Guerdet, a French priest.

Up to 1827 the faithful of Troy used to come to Lansingburgh for Mass, and for twenty years and upwards Mr. Rawson's malt house in Lansingburgh was the only place in the village where the divine mysteries of religion were solemnized.

The first Catholic church building in Lansingburgh was founded in 1842. In this year, on June 5, so runs the



charter, "The Catholic Church of the Village of Lansingburgh" was incorporated. (It may here be observed that "June 5," in 1842, was a Sunday.) The incorporators were nine in number, as follows,—Keating Rawson, (the head and front of the movement,) John Higgins, James B. Smyth, James Halligan, George T. Gillespie, Barnet Evers, John Doorley, John Driscoll, and Daniel Murray.

At this time, the Universalists of Lansingburgh, organized in 1833, offered their church building for sale. It was a small frame structure situated at the corner of North and John Streets, (now Fourteenth Street and Fourth Avenue,) that had been erected by them in 1834. Their society had not prospered. A subscription paper was thereupon circulated by the trustees of the Catholic church for funds to buy the Universalist's place of worship, and after all had had a chance to put down their names for such sums of money as they chose fit to subscribe, Keating Rawson made up from his own purse what was needed to complete the purchase money.

The Universalist church was bought and, after some repairs, was blessed by the Right Rev. John Hughes, bishop of New York, in honor of God and of St. John the Baptist. This happened in the year 1842. The old church, we may observe, served the purposes of Religion for many years—until 1869, when the present church of St. Augustine at the corner of Fifteenth Street and Fourth Avenue was completed by the Augustinian Father Thomas Galberry, afterwards bishop of Hartford. The Augustinians were given charge of the missions of Lansingburgh and Waterford in 1858.

Fr. Coyle, the same as has been named above, was the first priest, it is said, to officiate in the one-time Universalist church at Lansingburgh, now the Catholic church of St. John the Baptist.

In 1869, on the opening of the new church of St. Augustine, the old church was dismantled, turned into a hall for parish assemblies, and named "Rawson Hall," in memory

of its founder, Keating Rawson. It is the central building of the three now used for parish school purposes by the Sisters of St. Joseph. (Fr. Galberry had the two side buildings erected.)

We must now retrace our steps to Keating Rawson, whence our digression on the church building has led us. In 1829, Keating Rawson met with a grievous loss in the death of his loving and cherished spouse. Mrs. Rawson, whose habit it was to rise at night for prayer, was found dead on her knees by her bedside on the morning of Tuesday, December 22, 1829. She was 65 years of age at the time of her death. Keating and Annie Eustace Rawson had been married for 44 years, and their life had been an exceptionally happy one. Mr. Rawson was a devoted lover of his wife to the end. After her death his letters, especially the ones he wrote to his son-in-law John Tracy, breathe the tenderest recollections of the virtues and goodness of his former helpmate. In one of them he says,—“She was humble, yet proud, frugal, yet bountiful;” and again, his words of loving remembrance declare that—“the name of Annie Eustace will ever be dear to me.”

At the time of her death there was no graveyard, nor even a church for Catholics in Lansingburgh. At the neighboring village of Troy there was a church, as has already been said, dedicated to St. Peter, Apostle, but no graveyard. St. Peter's graveyard was opened for interments on September 18, 1858. (By the way, it may be observed, that Mr. Rawson was also one of the incorporators of St. Peter's church at Troy and one of its principal founders.\*)

Nor was there at the time of Mrs. Rawson's death any resident priest at Troy. The Catholics there were attended, as has been said, by a priest from Albany. So the day

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\* Dr. Shea states that Mr. Rawson promised to aid the Catholics of “Watertown,” in the far northwestern part of New York, to build a church. See his *History of the Catholic Church*, (N. Y., 1890,) vol. iii, p. 534. May not “Watertown” be a mis-print for Waterford, the village opposite Lansingburgh just across the river?



after her death, Keating Rawson purchased a small plot of ground, in the southern part of the village of Lansingburgh for a place of interment for Catholics. This graveyard, known now as "the old graveyard," is at the corner of Seventh Street and Third Avenue. *The Jesuit*, a Catholic periodical published at Boston, Mass., in its issue for Dec. 22, 1829, notices the death of "the highly esteemed and pious" Mrs. Annie Rawson; and, in the same issue, refers to the "purchase of a graveyard by the worthy Keating Rawson, a convert, for the use of the Catholics of Troy, Lansingburgh and Waterford."

Here then, on December 24, the Christmas Eve of 1829, were interred from her former home the earthly remains of Annie Eustace Rawson. The Rev. John Kelly, who has been frequently named in these pages, delivered the funeral discourse.

For many years, "the old graveyard" served its purpose as the sole place of interment for the Catholics of Lansingburgh and its two sister villages of Troy and Waterford, and even now is used by the descendants and heirs of the original lot-holders. In 1860, a plot of land much larger, it contains ten acres of ground, and far better suited to the now increasing needs of the Catholics of Lansingburgh, was purchased by Father Thomas Galberry. This graveyard, known as "St. John's-on-the-hill," is beautifully situated on the hill-side of Lansingburgh overlooking the village, the river and the lovely and picturesque valley of the Hudson.

The title to "the old graveyard" was never made over to the ordinary of the diocese, but is still vested in the descendants of Keating Rawson.

That Mr. Rawson's fellow townsmen were not all led by a similar spirit of pious Christian reverence for the last home of the dead appears from an utterly unwarranted deed of Vandalism, that was perpetrated by some miscreants during the summer following his wife's burial. On Friday, June 25th, 1830, a stone cross, that Mr. Rawson

had erected over his wife's grave, was sadly disfigured and mutilated by some unknown parties. *The United States Miscellany*, published at Charleston, S. Ca., says, (in vol. x, p. 43,) that "some villain at Lansingburgh, N. Y., defiled the monument over the grave of Mrs. Rawson"; and, from *The Jesuit*, the paper named above, I learn that the sacrilegious deed consisted chiefly in "ruining the cross which Mr. Rawson had placed over his wife's tomb." (See vol. i, p. 379.) On July 5, Mr. Rawson, as appears from the *Lansingburgh Gazette*, published a reward for the discovery and conviction of the evil-doer and, on the same date, returned by public letter his thanks to his Protestant friends and neighbors for their sympathy in his behalf.

The following is the circular just referred to, namely:—

"\$50 REWARD.

"The following reward is offered for the conviction of the person or persons concerned in breaking my wife's monument on Friday, June 25, 1830. For any person of the age of 10 years \$10, ditto of the age of 12 years \$15, ditto of the age of 15 years \$20, ditto of the age of 21 years \$30 and if a professor of the Christian religion \$50.

"The above reward will be paid to any person who will prove the facts, so that a legal conviction of the persons concerned may take place."

In the following letter Mr. Rawson thanks his fellow townsmen whose expressions of sympathy had been so welcome to him in the hour of his distress.

"MR. EDITOR.—Through the columns of your useful paper, I beg leave to return thanks to the kind friends who subscribed nearly \$100, as a reward for the discovery of the person or persons concerned in breaking the monument at my wife's grave on Friday (25th ult.) My feelings were wounded and they felt as the good Samaritan did. Oh! could the perpetrator have seen me picking up the broken part from my wife's grave, yes 44 years my

wife, he would have wept with me. I could not have supposed, sir, that a cross at a Christian's grave would have given offence in a Christian land, particularly when I have seen it in this village, painted on the outside of the Testament, used for the purpose of swearing persons in the magistrate's office.

"In your paper of this week, you have the reward offered by myself, and I shall decline the generous offer of my neighbours."

Both the notice of reward and the letter of thanks are signed "Keating Rawson" and dated "July 5, 1830." But the evil-doers were never brought to conviction, nor even discovered.

On the death of his wife, Keating Rawson being now entirely alone took up his residence with his son-in-law John Tracy who had been a resident of Lansingburgh since about the year 1822.

John Tracy was a son of Edward Tracy, a rich farmer in King's County, Ireland, and his wife Catharine. Both were Catholics. John was born in 1785 at Birr, or Parsonstown, and received a good education. At a later period, Edward Tracy having become impoverished chiefly, it is said, through his wife's extravagance, his son John was compelled to seek a living in the New World. He came to New York city; (the year of his arrival is not known); and, in 1820, married, as we have said, Sara Rawson, the eldest child and only daughter of Keating and Annie Eustace Rawson, at the bride's home at Lansingburgh. The officiating priest was Rev. Wm. Hogan, whom we have already named in connection with the church troubles in Philadelphia. At this time, however, Fr. Hogan was in good standing. For two years after their marriage, John and Sara Tracy lived in New York city, and then transferred their residence to Lansingburgh at Keating Rawson's urgent request, where John Tracy entered into business with his father-in-law. Five children were the issue with which Providence blessed the

marriage of John and Sara Tracy, namely, Anna Eustace, Edward, Sara Catharine Aloysia, Eustace Rawson and John Keating.

Anna Eustace was born in New York in 1821, and the other four in Lansingburgh. Anna married William Caggar in February, 1847. She is said to have been a woman of many ennobling qualities, patient under trials, and amidst her many bereavements a model of long suffering. Successively she lost all her children, (except one,) her husband, her health and her property; and yet, while for years an invalid in health, was always smiling and sweet-tempered. She died in Brooklyn, on Saturday, January 13, 1883, leaving one child William, now in business in New York city, who was born on Tuesday, August 7, 1849.

John Keating Tracy, the youngest child of John and Sara, died at Lansingburgh on Saturday, April 5, 1834, aged 5 months and 23 days, and is buried in "the old graveyard." The other three children of John and Sara Tracy are still living.

We may be allowed to make the following digression relating to their mother Sara Rawson Tracy, whom we have noticed in the foregoing pages. On the departure of her parents from Ireland in 1794, Sara was left (as has been said) in charge of her father's sister—her aunt, Nancy Fenton. In accordance with her father's desire and positive request, the little child was brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Rawson was at that time a somewhat extreme adherent of the Church of England. Besides the political disturbances of that period in Ireland, (it was in the very midst of the Irish Revolution, or Rebellion,) could not well have failed to work a disastrous effect on her youthful mind.

In looking over the documents I have used in the preparation of this paper, I have come across a queer looking old book, entitled—*An Impartial Narrative. . . . of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*. There is no date anywheres in



this book, that indicates even approximately when it was printed. But from its looks and the old-fashioned style of type, I am of opinion that it was printed in the early part of this century.\*

This, however, is merely a digression. To return to Keating Rawson's sister Nancy and his little daughter Sara. The fact of the Fentons, as well as the Rawsons, being on the government, or Protestant, side of the Revolution, would easily and almost naturally have alienated the youthful Sara from her mother's Faith.

We relate an incident or two connected with the "Rebellion," as we find them described in the above-named *Narrative*. At the battle of Hacketstown, which was fought on Monday, June 25, 1798, Sara Rawson, at the time only eight years of age, was at the house of her aunt, Mrs. Nancy Fenton. Mrs. Fenton's husband (Captain Fenton) had been severely injured the day before the battle by a fall, and so, during the siege of their house, which was the chief object of attack on the part of the "rebels," Mrs. Fenton took command of the government forces in lieu of her husband. The little Sara's paternal grandfather, Mr. James Rawson, happened on this occasion to be on a visit to the Fentons, and was a witness of the whole course of the siege. In a letter that he wrote to his son Keating Rawson, (at this time in America,) dated, "Dunlavin, July 24, 1799," he speaks of the brave defence made by his daughter Nancy against the assault of the insurgents, and playfully styles her "an Alexander in petticoats." Moreover, on pages 152-6 of this *Narrative* is a detailed account, unsigned, but apparently by an eye-witness, of the battle of Hacketstown. The account says that "Mr. Fenton [husband of Nancy Rawson] was Lieu-

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\* As for me, this *Narrative* is a unique example of early Cambridge Americana, I give its title in full as it stands on the first page.

Here it is: *An Impartial Narrative of the most important Engagements which took place between His Majesty's forces and the Rebels during the Irish Rebellion, 1798. . . . First American Edition. Cambridge [N. Y.]. Printed by Tennerly & Stockwell.*

I may add that the *Narrative* is written from a partisan and rather anti-Catholic point of view. It is anything but "impartial."

tenant [*sic*] of Mr. Hume's cavalry"; that "in the house was the wife of Lieutenant Fenton"; and (in a note at the bottom of page 15), that she was "sister to Captain Rawson of the Athy Loyalists"; moreover, as we read further on, the only one wounded "was Mrs. Fenton's father, [this was Mr. James Rawson, father, too, of Keating Rawson,] who received a slight wound in the face."

It is not known when Sara Rawson came to the United States to rejoin her parents. But in 1820, as has been said, she was married at Lansingburgh to John Tracy; thence removed with her husband to New York city, and returned from there to Lansingburgh in 1822, where she continued to live until her death on Saturday, October 26, 1839. She is said to have been a woman of refined, amiable and pious feelings. She is buried alongside her mother in "the old graveyard" at Lansingburgh.

John Tracy survived his wife three years. He, too, died at Lansingburgh a few days only after the demise of his worthy father-in-law Keating Rawson, on Saturday, November 27, 1842, at the age of fifty-seven, and is buried alongside his wife. During his last illness, John Tracy was attended by Rev. Peter Havermans, a young priest, who, during the month of June preceding, had been located by the bishop with residence at St. Mary's Church in the neighboring village of Troy. Lansingburgh mission was part of his charge.

The memory of John Tracy recalls him to the living as "a good son, a devoted husband and a most devoted father."

We come now to the closing days of Mr. Keating Rawson, who for forty-seven years had been a resident of Lansingburgh, and the witness and prime mover of its first Catholic mission. On Friday, November 18, 1842, after a long life of good works, not uncrowned with many temporal blessings, he ended his days in the Lord, at the age of seventy-five years, three months and three days. During Keating Rawson's last illness, he was consoled by



the priestly ministrations of Fr. Havermans, the same good and worthy priest, who, as we have seen, was to be summoned a few days later to aid the passing moments of Rawson's only son-in-law. The same priest chanted the *Requiem* for the soul of Keating Rawson, on the Sunday immediately following his death.

And so ended the earthly career of one who was ever a devoted husband to the bride of his youth, a tender father, a loyal citizen of the land of his adoption and, best of all, from the hour of his conversion, a dutiful and loving son of holy Mother Church. Keating Rawson was also the only one of his family branch to come to the New World. The Rawsons of New England are of an entirely different branch, related, if at all, only remotely to the Rawsons of Wicklow. Their ancestor was Edward Rawson, who was born in England in 1615, and died in Massachusetts in 1693.

Keating Rawson was never a rich man in worldly goods, he was too generous for that ; but instead, he was richly endowed with the kindly qualities of soul, that go so far to make up a good-hearted and worthy gentleman. He was fond of conversation, had a ready store of anecdotes, and was rarely disturbed in temper except when someone, (it mattered very little who he might be,) unwisely said anything in his presence against the Church of his conscience.

Then Keating Rawson did not choose his adjectives very carefully in taking the aggressor to task ; sometimes even the rebuke would be administered in public. There is a tradition in the village that, on one occasion, he went to hear a popular lecturer, who, as was common enough then and even not unheard-of to-day, attempted to spice his words to suit the palates of his auditors by repeating to them some of the old and oft-refuted slanders against the Catholic Church. Mr. Rawson was in an instant on his feet, and shaking his fist vigorously at the terror-stricken occupant of the rostrum, exclaimed in stentorian tones,—

"You lie, sir, you lie, sir, and you know you're lying," and then left the hall slamming the door indignantly behind him.

In politics Keating Rawson was a Democrat of the most pronounced type, and the last years of his life, after his retirement from business, were spent mainly in trying to make converts to the Church and to the Democratic party.

Although he never re-visited the fair land of his birth, he took a deep interest in all that touched on Erin's weal or woe ; and was ever ready to stretch out a helping hand to his less fortunate countrymen, who came to him for aid or advice.

He was a man of keen and vigorous intellect which he preserved undimmed to the last ; his favorite reading was of works on theology and history. After his conversion to the Catholic Faith, he was wont to assemble all the village children, who would come to his house, for instruction in the Christian doctrine. All were made welcome, and for a comparatively young man, it no doubt was a severe labor to instruct them, albeit a labor of love.

Physically, Keating Rawson was of singularly striking appearance, being very tall—six feet two inches in height,—of powerful frame, and soldierly bearing. He had a fresh, ruddy complexion, a Roman nose, kindly gray eyes, a square chin, which said as plainly as chin could say, "Don't tread on me ;" and a very benevolent expression of countenance. These physical characteristics of Keating Rawson are admirably portrayed in a half-figure portrait in oil, by some artist now unknown, that is in the possession of his descendants.

Thus far I have given the chief details in the life of this old-time Catholic pioneer of Lansingburgh, just as I have learned them. Apart from the references made to books and periodicals quoted in the course of this sketch, all other facts and circumstances, relating to Keating Rawson, have been gathered from family papers, copies of which have been put at my disposal by his descendants.

A LIST OF THE MISSIONARY PRIESTS AT ALBANY, N. Y.,  
FROM 1798 TO 1846.

I here subjoin a list of the Catholic priests, who were stationed (with residence) at Albany, N. Y., or, who as visitors, or substitutes, occasionally officiated there and in its neighborhood, from the year 1798, the earliest year, of which I have any account, down to 1846.

The names of these clergymen and the dates of their service may be found in the following works : *The History of the Catholic Church*, etc., vols. ii-iii, by Dr. Shea. (See their *Indexes*.) *The Clergy List* of St. Mary's Church, Albany, drawn up by Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, LL.D., at one time Custodian of the historical records in the Department of State at Albany. This list is preserved in St. Mary's archives at Albany ; and the *Reminiscences of Rev. John Shanahan*, published in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, N. Y., 1888, vol. ii, p. 105, and a little paragraph, (on p. 103,) headed *Early Priests at Albany*.

Here is the list of the Albany Missionaries :

1798—1800. Rev. Matthew O'Brien.

1800 (about). "Rev. Dr. Stafford" was stationed, it seems, for a short time in Albany. Little else is known of this priest. He may have been the Augustinian Father Philip Stafford, who Fr. Jordan, the Jesuit, says in his *Sketch of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia*, was stationed there in 1800.

1804. Rev. Matthew Carr, D.D., O.S.A., of Philadelphia, visited Albany and Balston.

1806—1807. Rev. Pierre Huet de la Valinière ; Rev. John Byrne.

1807—1807. "Rev. Mr. Hurley." This priest perhaps was the Augustinian friar, Dr. Michael Hurley, of Philadelphia. Dr. Hurley visited Albany in 1807.

1808—. Rev. Cornelius Mahony, the same perhaps as

is elsewhere named D. Mahone; Rev. Luke Fitzsimmons, a Recollect friar.

1808—9. Rev. James, (or John,) Michael Bushe, elsewhere named Burke.

1810. Rev. Mr. Weddin.

1813—1817. Rev. Paul McQuade, or McQuaid.

1817—1819. Rev. Michael O'Gorman, or Gorman.

1820—. Rev. John Farnan, or Farnham; Rev. William Hogan.

1820—1822. Rev. Michael Carroll.

1821, '22 or '23. Rev. Richard Bulger.

1824—1826. Rev. Mr. Savage.

1826—1836. Rev. Mr. Smith; Rev. Mr. Brennan; Rev. Mr. Curtin, and Rev. Mr. Urquhart.

1836—1846. Rev. Mr. Schneller; Rev. Mr. Hays; Rev. Mr. Bradley; Rev. Mr. Hogan.

#### SOME NOTES ON MISS NANCY ELDRIDGE, OF LANSINGBURGH, N. Y.

##### GATHERED FROM FAMILY DOCUMENTS.

Nancy Eldridge, converted to the Catholic Church at the same time, it is said, as Keating Rawson, was the daughter of Elisha Eldridge, a Virginian by birth, and his wife Mary Wheaton, a New England woman, a native of New Haven, or Hartford, in Connecticut. The mother of Nancy, a handsome, bright-eyed woman, died in Lansingburgh, N. Y., in 1841, at the age of 87 years.

The Eldridges were members of the Dutch Reformed Church—the Church of Holland.\*

\* The writer of this paper on Miss Nancy Eldridge thinks it only right to observe that for the information contained therein he is indebted to the kind industry of Miss Sara C. Tracy, of Lansingburgh, N. Y., who gathered the various data relating to the Eldridges from one of the family.



Nancy Eldridge, who was born in Saratoga county, lived for awhile at Waterford, but later on, for the larger part of her life at Lansingburgh, where she kept a small school for little girls. She was a lady of excellent parts, of gracious and refined manners, highly respected by all, and of a very handsome bearing.

It is not known at what time, or place, Miss Eldridge was received into the Catholic Church. The same uncertainty as to the precise date of this event surrounds it as it does the reconciliation with the Church of Keating Rawson. But it is said, though on what grounds I have not been very satisfactorily informed, that Miss Eldridge owed her conversion largely to the influence of Mrs. John Tracy, daughter of Keating Rawson.

After her conversion her family, though remaining strong and firm in their Protestant convictions, nevertheless always respected the true and genuine spirit of Christianity in their kinswoman. For many years, in fact up to a short time before her death, Miss Eldridge had entire charge of the sacristy and altar of St. Augustine's church, then known as St. John the Baptist's.

In early life, she was engaged to a young man, a very worthy gentleman, but as strong a Presbyterian as she was a Catholic. Neither of them, despite their warm affection for one another, was willing to surrender the religious differences, that kept their promises unfulfilled. And yet with singular, and almost romantic, though not unheard-of, constancy to their early love, the two remained engaged for more than thirty years, when the death of the suitor parted them, visiting and receiving each the other's visits. Nancy Eldridge was never married.

During the last years of her life she met with many afflictions, which she bore uncomplainingly with true Christian fortitude. One Christmas Eve, during the rectorship of the late Rev. Dr. Moriarty, O.S.A., she fell on the icy side-walk opposite the old church of St. John's, this mishap resulting in a fracture of a hip. From this

time down to the day of her death she was a continual sufferer, though never known to murmur. During her last illness, she was attended by Rev. Thomas Galberry, from whom she received all the consolations of Holy Church.

Nancy Eldridge died on Saturday, February 15, 1868, aged 74 years, a true and devoted Catholic, and in accordance with her dying request was buried in the Episcopal graveyard opposite the Catholic Church.





Confidential  
Feb. 22. 1839

My dear Sir

I have the honor to

acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and am very sorry to hear that

you are still suffering from the same

illness. I am very sorry to hear that

you are still suffering from the same

illness. I am very sorry to hear that

you are still suffering from the same

illness. I am very sorry to hear that

you are still suffering from the same

illness.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. H. May.

## BIOGRAPHY OF REV. PATRICK KENNY.

A. D. 1763-1840.

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BY JOSEPH WILLCOX.

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The following sketch has been written as an introduction to the diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny, which, it is hoped, will shortly be published.

During the Summer of 1804 a ship arrived at Wilmington, Delaware, freighted with a load of passengers from a port in Europe.

The weather was excessively warm. Among the passengers was one who keenly felt the change, in temperature, from the more balmy climate of his former home. To such a great degree was he perplexed, that his disappointment overruled his plans.

While distressed by the heat, he hastily concluded to return to Europe ; and he applied for passage in the same vessel from which he had recently disembarked.

A completed passenger list frustrated his design ; and thus the future career of usefulness of the Rev. Patrick Kenny, for such he proved to be, was preserved for the field in which he labored for many years ; as the early occurrence of more agreeable weather induced him to remain in this country, which he finally adopted as his future home.\*

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\* This is the account which Father Kenny gave to the Willcox family, at Concord, in Delaware County, concerning his first arrival in this country.

Father Kenny was born in the County of Dublin, in Ireland, on June 6th, 1763. He was educated at the College of St. Sulpice, in Paris.

Shortly after his arrival in this country he made his home at the house of Anthony Hearn, at Rocky Hill, in Goshen, Chester County, about three miles east of West Chester. He lived with Mr. Hearn, as a member of his family, until September, 1808.

In March, 1805, he took possession of the farm at White Clay Creek, in Newcastle County, Delaware, which he afterwards called Coffee Run; under some agreement with the Jesuits who owned the property. A small log church had been built there 15 years prior to that time.

On the 25th of March, in that year, being "moving day" in Delaware, he agreed with the tenant, Thomas Maguire, to rent the farm for one year at £21.15 shillings, to be paid in half yearly payments.

In the following month, April 7th, he went again to White Clay Creek and arranged for the service in that church. According to his own statement "the Congregation insures 8 D per one Sunday pr month thro' the year."

The first reference to the congregation at West Chester, in the diary, was made on May 5th, 1805. But he undoubtedly had attended that church at an earlier date; as the first mention of the congregation concerned the payment of the subscription for one quarter of a year.

Father Kenny, in his diary, under date of September 25th, 1817, wrote—"I finished this day, registering all baptisms and marriages that I performed since my settling in this country, in Aug 1804, to this date."

Among the Registers of baptisms now preserved at St. Peter's church, in Wilmington, is one headed "West-chester Chester county Pa."; and the first entry is dated August 5th, 1804.\* This is believed to have been made

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\* See these RECORDS, Vol. I, page 369.

by Father Kenny. He attended the station at the house of John Dorat, in Londonderry Township, Chester County, on May 26th, 1805.

New Castle station was first mentioned on July 28th, 1805.

Wilmington is first referred to on Nov. 25th, 1805, as follows—"2 Bap. French families Wilmington"; but no record is made concerning Mass celebrated there until May 8th, 1806, "at Mr. Keatings."

On October 13th, 1805, is recorded "1 Baptism and 3 attendances at Judge Willcox's."\* As the Willcox family kept Father Kenny supplied with paper, according to the diary, until the time of his death, he undoubtedly visited at Concord, soon after his arrival in this country; as the first entry in the diary was written on paper made by Mark Willcox.

The stations at West Chester, Coffee Run and New Castle appear to have been attended monthly.

Mr. John Keating's house in Wilmington was usually attended monthly; and John Dorat's house, in Londonderry Township, once in two months.

The house of "Judge Willcox," at Concord, appears to have been attended, at first, once in three months; and later once monthly.

It will be observed that Father Kenny attended regularly five stations and one church, included in three counties and two states. As the congregations were small, and the members, with few exceptions, poor, the priest had a very laborious and poorly rewarded vocation.

According to the diary his attendance at New Castle and at the house of Mr. John Keating, in Wilmington, did not long continue; no reference to the former place having been mentioned after Aug. 27th, 1807; or to the latter after March 20th, 1808.

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\* Father Kenny here refers to Mark Willcox, who lived at Concord, now called Ivy Mills. He always called him "Judge." He was commissioned an Associate Judge in Delaware County by Governor Mifflin in September, 1791.

The diary was commenced on March 25th, 1805; but, from that date until 1810, it consisted merely of statements of his receipts and expenses. These show that he practised the most rigid economy; and that he had but little time at his disposal, either for recreation or study; a large portion of his life having been passed away from his home, while no inconsiderable part of it was spent on the roads.

Only a small portion of the diary has been copied for publication prior to 1810; the remainder being chiefly repetitions of his receipts and expenses, with many unimportant details of farm matters. To a person familiar with the country traveled over by Father Kenny the different routes taken by him, in the performance of his duties, can easily be recognized by his statements of the expenses incurred at the various taverns, toll gates and ferries.

Father Kenny moved from the house of Anthony Hearn,\* to Coffee Run, on September 11th, 1808, according to his own account. On the 14th of that month he paid "cash to J. Sh. & Thos. Maguire going for my things to Goshen." But they did not bring all of them; so, on April 19th, in order to complete that business without failure, he paid "cash for 2 loaves & 1 quart whiskey, folks going for my things to Goshen."

As Father Kenny made his home at Coffee Run from the above date until his death, except during a short interval, a brief history of the place is here given. It is located on the Lancaster turnpike about 6 miles from Wilmington.

As mentioned above Father Kenny took possession of the farm on March 25th, 1805, and from that date he received the rents from the tenant on it. In 1807, he erected a barn on the property; and, in accordance with the custom of the neighborhood, on June 29th, in that year, he bought "3 gals whiskey at raising of barn and carpenters besides."

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\* For a sketch of Anthony Hearn see APPENDIX No. 1.



As he did not obtain the title to the farm until nearly two years after he erected the barn, he undoubtedly had obtained from the Jesuits an agreement for its sale. In connection with this matter, the following extract is taken from a letter written by Rev. E. J. Devitt, S.J., at Georgetown College, D. C., under date of November 16th, 1895, addressed to the writer. It runs thus:—"In regard to Fr. Kenny's title to the land at Coffee Run, previous to 1810, I presume that he had none, except as tenant holding from Fr. Francis Neale. The lands adjacent to Bohemia were acquired by Fr. Thomas Mansell, S.J., in 1706. Held in trust by the successive Superiors (S.J.) of the Mission, they were transmitted by the Corporation of the Associated Clergy of Maryland to the Board, which holds them at present, whose Agent is Rev. John A. Chester, S.J., Loyola College, Baltimore.

"Lands outside of Maryland were held by individuals, as trustees. Fr. Francis Neale was business manager of the property in Maryland, and his name appears in connection with deeds of transfer in Pennsylvania, at Cone-wago, Carlisle, etc.

"Coffee Run depended on Bohemia. The property was owned by the Society. On account of the small number of Jesuits, after restoration in 1804, they were not able to supply missionaries of the Order for all the stations, and by an agreement with the Bishop of Baltimore, they placed secular Priests in some of the missions, notably at Bohemia, for many years during the first two decades of the century, providing for their support from the revenues of the farms attached to the Missions.

"I presume that this was the position of Mr. Kenny, at first; then, Fr. Neale wished to avoid the inconvenience of managing property in another State, and made the transfer to him."

The following has also been received from the same source, at Georgetown College, under date of February

4th, 1896, and taken from the Records of the Associated Clergy of Maryland.

"Extracts from the Minute Book of the proceedings of the Association of Roman Catholic Clergymen.

"Meeting at Newtown, Md., 8 Dec. 1798.

"'The Revd Leonard Neale empowered to borrow \$800 to pay the debts of the Farm of Mill Creek Hundred, formerly purchased by Mr. Manners for the support of a Clergyman.' \*

"Meeting at St. Thomas' Manor, Charles Co., Md. 28 Aug. 1799.

"'The Bd of Representatives advised the sale of the Farm in Mill Creek Hundred, State of Delaware, the Chapel and burying-ground excepted. The money 1° to pay the debts of said farm 2° to buy a house and lot in New West Chester for the Priest, and the surplus funded for his support.'

"Meeting at St. Thomas, 8 Nov. 1801.

"'Rev. Mr. Staunton appointed Manager of that part of Bohemia estate allotted for the Clergyman's support.'

"St. Thomas' Manor, 21 Nov. 1805.

"'Rev. Fr. Neale & Bitouzey will take information about the propriety of selling the Plantation in Delaware, near Wilmington, and the money to be put at interest for the good of the Missions.' "

Mr. William M. Byrne, of Wilmington, has very kindly examined the records in that city and in Newcastle; and has supplied much information concerning Rev. Mr. Kenny's purchases and sales of land, which corresponds with the priest's own statements in his diary.

From a copy of a deed, which he sent to the writer, the following extracts are taken :

Rev. John Lewis, representing the Society of Jesuits, purchased 208 acres of land from Samuel Lysle on January 17th, 1772. The former, in his last will and testa-

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\* Mr. Manners may have negotiated for the purchase, but the title was originally vested in Rev. John Lewis.

ment, dated March 13th, 1788, bequeathed the same land to "Revd. Robert Mollyneaux." The latter in his will, dated June 6th, 1809, bequeathed the same property to the "Revd. Francis Neall, of Georgetown in the District of Columbia."

On May 15th, 1810, Revd. Francis Neall sold the same property to "Reverend Patrick Kenny, Clerk, of Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle County in the State of Delaware," for the sum of \$1,600.00.

Concerning this purchase Father Kenny, in his diary, wrote on May 10th, 1810, "Cash paid to Richd Mahon for writing deed of Coffee Run, 2.50." "June 6th Cash for drawing deeds-ackn-& recording &c 6.86."

There was an irregularity in the matter of recording the deeds and mortgages for the property that, at a later date, caused a deal of anxiety and trouble and some loss of money to Father Kenny.

His friend Anthony Hearn, of Goshen, had agreed to loan the amount of the purchase money for the 208 acres of land, viz, \$1,600.00.

Thomas Maguire had agreed to buy 41½ acres at the price of \$664.00, and to give a mortgage for \$464.00 in part payment for the same.

A portion of this mortgage, to the amount of \$266.66, was endorsed by Father Kenny in favor of Mr. Hearn, and that formed a part of the consideration for the money loaned.

Although Thomas Maguire's mortgage to Father Kenny was dated June 5th, 1810, he really did not obtain the deed to the land until October 20th. Maguire afterwards repudiated the mortgage, claiming that it was invalid on account of the discrepancy in the dates. On March 12th, 1822, Father Kenny gave vent to his feelings of indignation concerning Maguire's treachery,—“The villain [he writes] well knew my difficulties when I was purchasing from the Rev Clergy of Maryland,” &c. Mr. Byrne writes that, of Thomas Maguire's mortgage, \$266.66 was paid to

the estate of Anthony Hearn ; but there appears, on the record, no satisfaction of the balance due to Father Kenny, viz, \$197.33.

When Father Kenny first attended Coffee Run a small church had already been erected there.

In the diary he wrote, concerning it, that,—“ In 1790 the Church was built under the direction of the late Rev. Jn. Rosseter [O.S.A.] The churchyard was laid out for interments, and many of the thinly scattered Catholics departed, laid therein, ten or more years before the log Church was raised.”

“ The Church is dedicated to Lord God under the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary d'Assump<sup>n</sup>. ”

In addition to the active duties associated with his churches and missions, Father Kenny performed much manual labor connected with his farm and garden. He was accustomed to mend fences, hoe the garden, plant seeds, pull weeds, fodder cows, grease gears, &c. In winter the miserable condition of the roads sorely taxed the tranquillity of his mind. To those only who have passed much time in the country, in winter, can the hardships of winter travel be realized.

During the early portion of his clerical life he traveled much on horseback, thereby suffering greatly, at times, from the heat in summer, to which he was constitutionally susceptible, and from the cold blasts of winter, to which he was, by a physical infirmity, keenly sensitive.

With advancing years he felt severely the necessity for a more comfortable means of travel; but his limited financial condition permitted only the purchase of the most economical wagon. His old dearborn, which he had obtained soon after his arrival in this country, was still in his possession, but worn out.

On October 30th, 1824, he purchased a “ snug, good Dearborn ” to relieve his crippled leg, at a cost of \$24.00, which he considered very cheap; although it had been subjected to a considerable amount of use. This old



"D'born" after some renovation, especially with a new cover, maintained, for a long time, a prominent position in Coffee Run history; and it appeared frequently in the "Coffee Run Records."

In January, 1811, Father Kenny was called, by Bishop Egan, to attend Holy Trinity church in Philadelphia, in pursuance of the following proceedings which occurred at that church.

"At a meeting of the Trustees of Holy Trinity church, held at the Parish House on December 16th, 1810, the following members were present, Rev. Adam Britt the pastor, Adam Premir, Charles Baumann, Balthasar Thuiel, Philip Strunck, Peter Singraff, James Bastain Sr, and Jacob Oellers.

"It was moved by Rev. Adam Britt that the Rt Rev. Michael Egan, Bishop of the State of Pennsylvania, was willing to appoint the Rev. Patrick Kenny as English Pastor of said Church, under the condition that said Rev. Patrick Kenny would be allowed to be absent on two Sundays of each month, to attend to two of his present Stations; whereupon it was resolved that the Rev. Patrick Kenny, as English Pastor, should receive an annual salary of \$400.00, to be paid quarterly."

"JACOB OELLERS, *Secretary.*"

The following proceedings occurred at a later date.

"At a meeting of the Trustees, held on March 26th 1811, it was resolved that the German, as well as the English Pastor, should have the same income and salary, and either should have the same right to the pastor's house with its furniture, according to the agreement signed by Rt Rev. Bishop Michael Egan, the Rev. Adam Britt, and the Rev. Patrick Kenny, and witnessed by Rev. W. V. Harold, Adam Premir and Jacob Oellers."\*

"JACOB OELLERS, *Secretary.*"

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\* Translated from the records at Holy Trinity church, by Rev. E. O. Hiltermann, for the writer.



Father Kenny still continued to attend West Chester, Coffee Run, John Dorat's and Concord, at the house of Mark Willcox.

On the following November 18th, Rev. Mr. Rantzau was appointed an assistant priest at Trinity church. But harmony between the priests did not long prevail ; as the assistant was soon discovered to be the leader of a race faction among the congregation. Dissensions arose which appear to have culminated on May 10th, 1812, when complaint was made to Rt. Rev. Bishop Egan, who, on May 17th, dismissed the troublesome assistant from Trinity church. The assistant, however, did not take his departure ; so, on July 23d, he was dismissed from the Diocese, to Father Kenny's "Te Deum Laudamus." On the following August 7th, Father Kenny, disgusted by his treatment by the congregation, sent a letter of resignation to Bishop Egan ; and, on the 15th, he returned to his former home at Coffee Run ; having been succeeded, at Trinity church, by Rev. Mr. Roloff from Conewago.

On November 14th, 1812, Father Kenny was appointed one of the trustees of St. Augustine's church, in Philadelphia, *vice* Rev. John Rosseter, O.S.A., deceased.\*

Father Kenny's career, in connection with some others of his missions and churches, was not free from vexations and troubles.

On May 10th, 1818, he wrote—"Londonderry station broke up by letter from Mr. Jn Dorat, the poor people are not able to collect any subscription whatever—and are far behind for all last year."

On the day after the new church at Wilmington was blessed by him, he made an agreement with the trustees, concerning his salary, of which the following is a copy :

"WILMINGTON, September 13th, 1818."

"At a meeting of the members of the Catholic Church of St. Peter held therein this day.

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\* See these RECORDS, Vol. I, page 209.

"1st. Resolved, that the members of St. Peter's Church, in Wilmington, do agree unanimously to pay to a Clergyman twelve dollars for every Sunday he performs service therein. Their wish is to have church four Sundays in the month, if possible, if not four, say 3, if not 3, say 2 certain.

"2d. Resolved, by the members of the Church, that the Rev. Doctor Dubarth, of Philadelphia will please to grant this congregation their request, etc."

"Signed by the committee,

"appointed"

"WILLM. LARKIN,

"ARTHUR MURPHY."

A few years after this time the congregation desired to have more frequent service than his duties, at his other stations, would permit.

His efforts to serve all of them loyally resulted in a disagreement with the trustees that assumed an acute form in September, 1826; and which was maintained, at spasmodic intervals, until an assistant priest appeared upon the field of discord in 1829. These semi-periodical outbursts were stimulated into action by the conduct of the trustees in reducing the promised salary of the priest from time to time, in order to force him to comply with their demands.

At this late date, when all the participants in this controversy are dead, the descriptions of the "scenes of conflict" by Father Kenny, in his quaint style, are quite amusing.

On May 17th, 1829, Father Kenny made an agreement with the trustees of the church, in Wilmington, for the celebration of Mass on all Sundays and holidays of obligation, by an assistant priest. For this service they promised to pay "\$500.00 for the first year, and more afterwards, if their circumstances will admit."

In compliance with this covenant, Rev. George A. Car-

rell arrived in Wilmington, in the steamboat from Philadelphia, on May 21st, 1829; and was lodged at the house of Mrs. Laurette Noel, at the price of \$3.00 per week for board, under an arrangement previously made by Father Kenny.

On January 7th, 1830, Rev. Mr. Carrell was also appointed to West Chester, though he still resided in Wilmington.

At West Chester Fr. Kenny's engagements were not always accompanied with serene content.

In *Will Book L*, (Vol. II.,) May 19th, 1806, is recorded at West Chester the will of Daniel Fitzpatrick, who bequeathed as follows \*—"Fifty pounds which it is my will to be put out to interest forever, and the interest accruing from the same to be annually disposed of towards the support of the Catholic Church in West Chester, but if no Catholic Clergyman should reside there, then the interest to be funded for the use of Catholicity in St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, but on no account shall this money be given but in West Chester Church provided Catholicity is not extinct there'" &c. "'My Doway Bible I give and bequeath to Charles Kenny Esq.'"

"Charles Kenny and James Bones were Executors who filed their account in 1808, in which they claim credit for \$133.33 paid to Catholic Church; but I find no release in their favor in the Recorder's office."

This bequest of Daniel Fitzpatrick was a cause of disagreement between Father Kenny and the trustees, who had appropriated a portion of the interest money to pay for repairs to the church, instead of paying the whole amount to the priest.

This transaction is fully described in the diary under the date of March 27th, 1826, and ends with the following declaration:—"I long to see that day when I shall shake off West Chester."

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\* From a late letter of Mr. Alfred Sharpless of West Chester.

In July, 1827, Father Kenny sent his resignation of West Chester to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Conwell. He stated that his health was exhausted, and the journey of 40 miles too fatiguing to him.

In his own church, at Coffee Run, he was obliged to submit to the precarious support of an unreliable or an impecunious congregation. His reference to his church stove is here given as a sample of the state of affairs at that church.

"I took it out of Coffee Run Church on the 31st of December, 1821, and put it up in old Granny Donlevy's cabbिन now in her 108th year.

"This I did because the Catholics resorting to this Church would not procure wood for their winter church Sundays: would not reimburse me 5 or 6 dolls. of its first cost—would not subscribe: nor those who subscribed for the monthly subsistence of a Priest, have not paid a cent these ten years past, three or four excepted, 25 cents per month."

After many years experience in living, in the most frugal manner, Father Kenny gave his opinion of the amount of annual salary that a priest, in his situation, should receive, which may be summed up as follows:

"Board 2 dollars per week, . . . .	\$104.—
"Clothing per year, . . . .	50.—
"Candle light per year, . . . .	5.—
"Fire wood 8 cords per year at \$4.50 per cord, . . . .	36.—
"Man's wages 7 and 8 dollars,* . . .	90.—
"Housekeeper's wages 75 cts per week,	39.—
"Man's and Housekeeper's board at \$1.50 each per week, . . . .	152.—
"Horse keeping and Smith's bills, . .	100.—
	<hr/>
	"\$576.—"

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\* This means \$7.00 per month in winter, and \$8.00 in summer.

He also stated—"Thus the carriage cost & repairs, with the foregoing items, require more than \$600.00, without any provision for a sore leg."

In June, 1827, the financial condition at Coffee Run church was more encouraging. Fourteen pews had just been constructed; and twelve of them were taken, on the first day, at \$6.00 per year; Madam Victor Du Pont and family taking No. 1.\*

It will not be a matter of surprise to learn that Father Kenny, with his excitable temperament, was affected and distressed, in a high degree, by the action of Rev. William Hogan and his supporters, in St. Mary's church in Philadelphia, in the years 1821-2-3, in their controversy with Bishop Conwell.

In his comments, concerning them and their actions, Father Kenny did not hesitate to refer to the former, on one occasion, as a "Buck Parson"; and, at another time, as "the Orangeman Pastor Gulielmus Hogan."

On October 2d, 1826, he was summoned to Philadelphia by Bishop Conwell, and was appointed one of a committee to arrange terms of agreement between the board of trustees of St. Mary's church and Bishop Conwell.

Father Kenny recommended to the bishop the appointment of Rev. Mr. Harold, as the only proper priest to meet the select committee and lawyers of the "schismatical board." The bishop replied that the committee of the board would not treat with Rev. Mr. Harold; and that he (Mr. Kenny) had been agreed upon by both parties. Josiah Randal, Rev. Dr. Hurley, O.S.A., and Mr. Kenny represented Bishop Conwell; while John Ashley, young Attorney Randal and Charles Ingersol represented the "schismatical Trustees."

The committees met at the office of Josiah Randal; but during the negotiations, Father Kenny was attacked with a chill, and was obliged to withdraw from all further participation in the proceedings.

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\* See APPENDIX No. IV.



Father Kenny's frequent and necessary absence from his home, in attending to his widely separated missions, rendered the cultivation of his land an unsuccessful enterprise; especially as he appears to have been subjected to the chronic misfortune of inefficient and unreliable workmen. Mishaps were of frequent occurrence, if not perennial. A few examples of his bucolic tribulations are here related, which, in the year 1830, seemed to have culminated early in the season. According to his own statements, his hired man Patk. Haw, "the incorrigible drunkard,"—"the Botany Bay lark,"—the man, "who had sucked the cider from the barrel in the cellar with a straw," had been discharged; partly because Patrick wouldn't stay any longer, and partly because Father Kenny wouldn't keep him. "No more of the Haw family for me!" he writes.

About that time he wrote,—“one of my shoats died this forenoon, injured by old sow.”

Next day the same sow injured another young pig. Further on he wrote,—

“I prepared the cows' feed. Jas. Bog truly a bog tar-apin—might have been 2 hours sooner at Fluke harrow—No cows nor calf to be found—fine set of hands—I picked up rakes, hay forks, short ladder—housed all—Jn Dunne went round all my ground, he says the cows and calf are away—he play'd the Johnny Dunne—Kittie Christie went afterwards, she can't see the length of her nose, or would not trouble herself, came home with acct.” “The cows are off—Poor sick Betsy Dunlevy started, brought them home—What must take place when I am from home?—New carpet seriously injured by Ky Che heaping fire on fire shovel to take to the stove in the wash house. She dashed all the brands over 3 pieces of carpet!”

“I am plagued showing old & new H. Keepers what to do.”

On his return home from Concord he wrote—“Jas Willcox is kind to let me have horse Paddy for my farm

Summer work—much plagued with horse Paddy\*—broke loose twice—pd 25c for a halter for Paddy†—Two miles from town he pulled away the tail railing of my D born—I made fast the halter to the axletree & hauled him nolens volens to Coffee Run.” A few days later the same horse appears upon the scene again—“My horse Paddy grazing along the edge of the new dug cellar went down therein tailforemost. The edge of the bank gave way under his hind legs, &c.”

One more incident is quoted to show that the life of the farmer priest was not always serene.

“APRIL 5th, 1830.

“John Dunne devoured all the loaves he could finger, so that Kitty had to make Indian flappers for Thos Farry and Chs Evans, as Jn Dunne made sure of his Bread-prize before the ploughmen had water’d & fed their horses.”

Finding his farm operations unprofitable, and the payment of the yearly interest on the mortgage an onerous tax on his limited resources, he was much relieved in mind when he sold to John Nolan a portion of his farm in February, 1824 ; and, with a portion of the proceeds, he paid off the mortgage due to the estate of Anthony Hearn. His joy, at the completion of this transaction, is best described in his own words.

On March 2d, 1824 he wrote—“Settled all my concerns with late Anthy. Hearn’s executors, John Carrell & Jos<sup>h</sup> Snyder, & have in my possession the mortgage deed & Bond &c ; so that I am this moment freed from that all devouring moth, interest—

“Notwithstanding all my infirmities I feel so relieved that my Te Deum is unquestionably from the heart, & my soul feels lost in gratitude to my God for having preserved

\* He had tied the horse behind his wagon.

† After he arrived in Wilmington, on his way home.

a refuge for me in my helpless old age, in my valuable new house & large garden with 47 1/2 acres.\*

Father Kenny was rather robust in form. His height was a little below medium. His tailor Francis Breen, a neighbour, was undoubtedly poorly supplied with fashion plates. The priest, when attired in a suit of Francis Breen's clothes, and with a tall hat with broad brim, (in the language of a lady, who remembers his appearance,) resembled a Quaker as much as a priest.

The legs of his trowsers were made unusually wide and loose, to accommodate the bandages on his afflicted limb; and they were made short, exposing well his shoes, either for the purpose of economizing cloth, or to carry into effect Francis Breen's idea of "style."

He always preached while sitting in a chair, on account of the pain in his leg.

Among the few luxuries, in which Father Kenny indulged, the most prominent appeared to be cigars, of which he usually purchased annually about 2,000, at the cost of \$2.00 per 1,000. Gingerbread was a favorite morsel with him; and among his list of expenses "6 1/4 cts. for ggbd." frequently appeared.

Though Father Kenny's temper was somewhat impulsive and peculiar, and though undoubtedly aggravated by his many years of suffering, it was disciplined and subdued with a Christian fortitude that rendered his character, in that respect, particularly a worthy example for imitation. This spirit of resignation is manifested almost daily in the records of his diary.

He was very companionable, and possessed an abundant store of humor and pleasantry.

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\* Father Kenny in the deed to John Nolan, dated February 19th, 1824, inserted the following clause, "Excepting and reserving forever for the benefit and promotion of the Roman Catholic religion that certain part thereof whereon the church now stands, the grave yard and passage thereto, ——— containing sixty one perches of land: the same being positively intended by the said Patrick Kenny to be absolutely vested for the use and purpose aforesaid in the Roman Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia for the time being and his duly appointed successors in perpetuum."

An old fashioned dearborn wagon, covered with white muslin cloth, and drawn by an old horse with a chronic walking gait, coming into town from the Lancaster Turnpike, often with a lot of marketing, all presided over by a clerical driver in the person of Rev. Patrick Kenny, was a familiar scene, for many years, to the residents of Wilmington and its vicinity.

Possessed of a rigid sense of honor and duty Father Kenny did not hesitate to express, in plain language, his condemnation of any action tainted with false dealing or immorality of any kind.

His denunciations were frequently intermingled with humorous, sarcastic comments that were calculated to disarm any suggestion of ill nature.

His uniform devotion to duty, overbalancing all considerations of personal comfort, coupled with the simplicity of his character, and his affectionate regard for his friends, inspired all who knew him, both Catholics and Protestants, with feelings of sympathy and esteem.

His piety and his devotion to duty are frequently manifested in his diary, on occasions when he attended church and visited the sick, though still weak and suffering from illness, or from pains in his ulcerated leg.

At the end of each year he regularly offered his thanks to God, both for His mercies and for such adversities as He, in His wisdom, thought proper to bestow upon him. He frequently called to God to grant him patience to endure his painful affliction.

Father Kenny was an industrious reader of books containing the best representations of literary, historical and religious thought. Although his library was fairly supplied with such books, he borrowed many from his friends, especially from his neighbor Mr. Victor Du Pont.\*

In the early part of the present century, when the means of travel were both slow and expensive, the people, espe-

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\* At the time of his death, Father Kenny's library contained about 500 volumes.



cially in the rural districts, were poorly supplied with catechisms and other religious books. Father Kenny exerted himself greatly to remedy this deficiency, as his many purchases of such books will testify.

He possessed great fondness for children, and spent much time in teaching them catechism; and he was much beloved by them.

During the year 1799, Father Kenny had been seriously ill with what he termed "spotted or putrid fever," resulting in an ulcerated leg which never healed. From that date, until his death, his leg was extensively and severely ulcerated from the knee to near the ankle; and it required to be dressed daily.

No person can peruse his diary without commiseration for the tortures which he endured from his sore leg, aggravated by his labors on his farm and garden; by traveling over rough roads and by exposure to the cold, in the performance of his duties, which included many long rides, when visiting the sick.

His accounts of his sufferings, followed often, in the next paragraph, by some facetious sally, are calculated to excite alternate feelings of pity and amusement.

Much time was often consumed in dressing his afflicted limb. On June 4th, 1828, he wrote—"Spent too much, yet necessary time, dressing my dandy leg."

His physical discomfort was much increased, later in life, when he was attacked by a "stroke of the palsy," as he called it. In consequence of this his right hand always trembled; making his writing a difficult operation.

This embarrassment is strikingly apparent in the diary; and is more pronounced as he advanced in age. It appeared first in a noticeable manner in July, 1828.

On March 1st, 1830, he wrote,—“I have been so uniformly debilitated that I could not write, and much less am I able now, but I must, God will help me I hope.”

On August 28th, 1830, he wrote, soon after the completion of his new house,—“Jas. Willcox presented me with



80 sheets of paper for sun curtains, & plenty of letter paper for Coffee Run. If God doth not strengthen my hand the letter paper will be useless."

"March 1st, 1832, I have been from the foregoing dates, so powerless of hand, & am so yet, that to write is for me toil and torture."

After March, 1832, the chief portion of the diary was written by another person from his dictation; and thereafter much of the former, omnipresent "spice" is conspicuous by its absence.

Judge Mark Willcox, frequently referred to in the diary of Father Kenny, died in February, 1827, and was succeeded in the ownership of the paper mill and other property at Ivy Mills, in Concord, by his son, James M. Willcox. Father Kenny, until his death, continued to attend monthly, the private chapel in the same old homestead, formerly owned by Mark Willcox.

The following letter was written by Father Kenny about four months before his death. It was addressed to Mrs. and Mr. James M. Willcox, in reply to a letter received from them, concerning their son Thomas, 17 years old, lately brought home from Georgetown College and dying from the disease of consumption. He lived three days longer than Father Kenny. As some portions of the letter are not easily legible, the whole of it is here reproduced in full, without the abbreviations.

"COFFEE RUN NOV 12th 1839

"DEAR MRS & MR WILCOX

"Your letter of the 3d inst. reached me this evening at 8 o'clock. It had an unfavorable physical effect on my paralised left side &c. &c.

"But your last lines have been a balm to my spirits, that no one but your Dear Mary and yourself can have an idea of.

"Assure my Thomas that I am his, and will be, as your letter expresses, while I'll be allowed to exist.

"Yours &c—I am powerless

"P. KENNY"

"Rev Mr will accept my respects."

The following is a copy of a letter, in the possession of the writer, concerning the final hours in the life of the good old priest under consideration ; of the man who, in spite of his old age, and of his helplessness and great sufferings from his physical infirmities, remained at his post of duty until he was prostrated by his fatal malady.

"WILMINGTON March 20th 1840

"MR JAMES WILLCOX

"DEAR SIR

"I am requested by Revd P. Kenny's man, to write you that Mr Kenny had an apoplectic stroke last evening which left him entirely helpless and speechless. Peter went for the Doctr and afterwards come into Town with the Dearborn at 10 o. c.

"My Mother and Mrs Murphy went out with him to take care of Mr Kenny

"Yours Respectfully

"JAMES MCGEE"

The following is a copy of a letter, also in the possession of the writer, written by J. Wales, a lawyer then living in Wilmington, addressed to James Willcox.

“WILMINGTON April 11th 1840

“Mr Stephen Churnside has requested to ask your aid and advice in relation to a difficulty that has arisen in regard to a house & lot he occupies on the farm of the late Revd Mr Kenny.

“He says that Mr Bradley the admr claims the little garden & lot attachd to the house and enclosd with it. He thinks that with your kind and fair disposition, you would have made no difficulty, and that your opinion would influence Mr Bradley, as admr. Mr Bradley has only the trust of the personal estate, and cannot of right claim the control or disposition of the real estate.”

During many years Father Kenny, when attending the church in Wilmington, was accustomed to ride or drive into town on Saturday. He usually put up his horse at the tavern of his friend James McGee; but he himself boarded with Mrs. Noel, a very estimable colored woman, and the wife of André Noel, the barber.

Mr. William M. Byrne informs the writer that “McGee’s Tavern was a well known hostelry situated on the southerly side of Fourth street, between Market and Shipley streets, on a very prominent thoroughfare in Wilmington, and was, for a long time, known as the Swan Hotel; and by this name it is still remembered by many of our older residents. It is now known as the Gibson House. In Father Kenny’s time this property was owned by James McGee.”

James McGee died on August 16th, 1826, and was buried in the graveyard at Coffee Run.

The writer of the first letter above was the son of James McGee; and he succeeded to the ownership of his father’s property, which he conducted successfully. His descendants are well known Catholics, living in Wilmington and Philadelphia.

Father Kenny was buried in the grave-yard attached to

the little log church, which he had attended for the period of 35 years.

The following is a copy of the inscription on the tombstone of the grave, sent to the writer by Mr. Francis Mullin, living in the vicinity.



SACRED  
TO  
THE MEMORY OF  
THE REVD PATRICK  
KENNY, BORN IN THE COUNTY OF  
DUBLIN IRELAND AND FOR NEARLY FORTY  
YEARS PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF  
ST. PETER WILMINGTON, WHO DIED  
ON THE 21ST DAY OF MARCH, 1840 AGED  
SEVENTY NINE YEARS, REVERED AND  
REGRETTEED.  
R. I. P.

Concerning the attendance at Coffee Run church after the death of Father Kenny, Mr. William Rowe, a member of St. Joseph's church, in that vicinity, in a letter to the writer, states that he moved to Brandywine in 1843, and has resided there ever since. He writes—"The first pastor of St. Joseph's church was Father McCabe, the second Fr. Frost. About one year was the term of their services. Next Rev. Daniel Magorian was pastor until 1846, when he was transferred to Port Carbon, Pa. He was succeeded by the Rev. Jno. S. Walsh, who was pastor for 20 years until 1866. Fr. Walsh was removed to Nicetown, Philadelphia, and was succeeded by Rev. John Scanlan, who was pastor until April 1869. Father Scanlan was transferred to Phoenixville Pa., and was succeeded by Rev. George I. Kelly who was pastor for 18 years, until 1887. About

that time Coffee Church ceased to be a mission Church ; as a new Church was built at Ashland, quite near the old Church. The above mentioned clergymen attended to the spiritual wants of the Catholics surrounding Coffee Run ; and, on the 4th Sunday of the month, the priests of St. Joseph celebrated the late Mass at Coffee Run. In the interim from 1840, when Fr. Kenny died, to the time when Fr. McCabe took charge of St. Joseph's Church, in all probability the Very Rev. Patrick Reilly, of Wilmington, celebrated Mass occasionally at Coffee Run."

St. Joseph's church was built in 1841.

Concerning the attendance at Wilmington, from March, 1808, until 1818, Mr. William M. Byrne writes—"The church records at St. Peter's Church in Wilmington, show that Father Kenny is the only Priest mentioned from 1804 to May 31st 1829. In 1829 he was succeeded by Rev. George A. Carrell, who remained until November 22d 1834, the day on which Father Reilly officiated. According to the baptismal register at St. Peter's Church, Rev. George A. Carrell did serve as an assistant to Rev. Mr. Kenny until Rev. Mr. Kenny's departure ; but seems to have remained there until the arrival of Father Reilly."

The last reference to Mass celebrated by Father Kenny in Wilmington was made by him in his diary on October 18th, 1834.

After the death of Father Kenny, at a time not now known, some portions of his diary came into the possession of James M. Willcox, at Ivy Mills.

They contain his notes from March 25th, 1805, to Aug. 20th, 1810 ; from September 1st, 1821, to October 14th, 1831 ; and from December 23d, 1832, to June 11th, 1833.

Two books of his diary also were sent to the family of his old friend, Charles Kenny, living near Pittsburg, Pa.\* These comprise the time between June 20th, 1811, to November 10th, 1813 ; and from June 1st, 1816, to August 8th, 1819.

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\* These have been 'courteously loaned to the Am. Cath. Hist. Society to be copied.



A few items were written, in a small book, with a pencil; the last of which was dated October 20th, 1834. The writing, in the book, commencing on December 23d, 1832, and ending June 11th, 1833, although undoubtedly dictated by Father Kenny, was not made by him.

When absent from home he was accustomed to write his memoranda on small pieces of paper, with a pencil to be copied into a large book on his return home. Many of these loose sheets still remain in the books.

These memorandum books contain matters chiefly relating to his daily affairs, in connection with his farm and garden; with an account of what work each man on the farm was doing. Much of this matter will be omitted in the pages of these "Records."

The diary, however, contains much information of historical interest, concerning many affairs that transpired in the early part of the present century, especially connected with the churches and missions, attended by Father Kenny.\*

#### LETTERS OF REV. PATRICK KENNY TO BISHOP CARROLL.

"RT. REV. DOCTOR CARROLL.

"REV. SIR—

"According to your directions Rv. Mr. Pasquet and I attended at White clay Creek and Wilmington on the 15th inst. As to the plantation business, the sur-

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\* NOTE.—Since the foregoing paper was written the writer has received copies of some letters, written by Father Kenny to Rt. Rev. Bishop Carroll, which are still on file in Baltimore; his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, having kindly given permission for their transcription.

Some of these letters are herewith published.

In the one, dated February 3d, 1806, it will be observed that, at that early date, Father Kenny had made a verbal agreement for the purchase of the farm at White Clay Creek, in Delaware, with the cooperation of Bishop Carroll; and that he was anxious to have "a conditional bill of sale completed." In this same letter it was stated that Anthony Hearn had loaned to the owners of the farm two hundred pounds; which was probably made in connection with the contemplated purchase of the land by Father Kenny. The title to the property was then held by Rev. Robert Molyneux.

mises contained in your letter to Rev. Mr. Whelan, as to the new tenant he was about to engage with, appear to us to be well founded—and moreover, the wishes of this new-comer were not properly stated. He declares that he never did offer to rent the farm—nor that he would not on any account pay as much as Maguire does for it—but simply propos'd to purchase. Rev. Mr. Pasquet will submit to Doctor Carroll this Mr. Patk. Kennedy's terms of agreement, of course no tenant is at hand to supplant Maguire, who consents to augment his yearly payments to 100 dollars.

“As to the charges forwarded by the congregation, it was mortifying, even humiliating to Clergymen to inquire into imputations so unbecoming the nicety of clerical character and unfortunately too strongly and too uniformly well-supported.

“Whatever members of the congregation residents of Wilmington that could be convened, were requested to meet at Mr. Paul Maginus', where they attended to the number of nine, amongst whom there was a single dissentient voice, a Mr. Patrick Trainor who deposed that Rev. Mr. Whelan always behaved well to him and his family and that all who contributed to the demands were equally well attended to—and that his name was put to the list of subscribers without his knowledge or consent—the names of the nine are Mr. Wm. Bride, Francis Cunningham, Paul Maginn, Francis Kane, Jas. Fitzgerald, Thos. Maguire, Dennis McCready, Patk. Higgins and Patk. Trainor—Since writing this report three persons appear'd to say that they had nothing to accuse Rev. Mr. Whelan of, to wit—Bernard McHenemy, Thos. Arjoin, Stephen Murphy.

“We remain, Rt. Rev. Sir, with every  
“respect yr. most humble & obedt. servts,

“PTK. KENNY.”

“WILMINGTON,

“WM. PASQUET.”

“Saturday 16 Feby. 1805.

“P. S. As I intend to go to Deer Creek next week to settle the affair of that place as per Mr. Greene’s requests and yours : from there I will try to go as far as Baltimore to pay you my respects and then I will state to you more fully the different circumstances of the business we have been about White clay Creek. Pray present my best respects and wishes to Mr. Burton.”

“RT. REV. DOCTOR CARROLL.

“RT. REV. SIR—

“I take the liberty of informing Doctor Carroll, per favour of Mr. Edward Jenkins, of the bad state of the house, stable and barn of White clay Creek plantation. The logs of the house are rotten, and parted from the dove-tails, project out of plumb to an alarming degree. The barn and stable afford no shelter for crop or for beast, they are a heap of ruins. The timber of the woods has been so wantonly wasted, that the remainder will not supply what has been burnt of the fences and suffice to repair their shameful remnants—the farm is a common for the neighborhood and for all cattle of the roads. I’d be happy to be acquainted with Doctor Carroll’s wishes & to follow his directions, as some reparations appear indispensably necessary. I should have waited on Rev. Mr. Pasquet, at Bohemia, before now and consulted him on this subject, but my occupations, and principally the continued heat of the summer, prevented my journeying so far.

“I cannot but express a regret that I had not an opportunity of paying my respects to Doctor Carroll when I accompanied Mr. & Mrs. Hearne, thro’ Baltimore, to Long Green.

“I am, Rt. Rev. Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servt.,

“P. KENNY.”

“P. S. I hope that Rev. Mr. Beeston is well, and that he’ll accept of my sincere regard & esteem. Mr. &

Mrs. Hearne also desire their respectful compliments to Dr. Carroll, and to Rev. Mr. B.

"Goshen, near West Chester.

"Sept. 5th, 1805."

"RT. REV. DOCTOR CARROLL.

"RT. REV. SIR.

"Your letter of the 13th of January reach'd me on the 27th of same month. I cannot but feel it a high compliment that those who have the legal title to the property of White clay Creek should acquiesce in and approve of the proposal that I made ; to which you'll permit me to add the most sincere assurances of gratitude for your condescending to take this affair in hand. I should fully coincide with you in opinion that the farm so contiguous to the Borough of Wilmington would be underrated in the price that the Proprietors offer it to me at, if the waste and dilapidation on the place had not nearly exhausted it ; but more particularly if the buildings had not been left to moulder to ruins. Their repairs must & will be heavy. As to the directions that were given, when it was first contemplated to sell, they shall be punctually attended to. I recollect to have heard the Rev. Mr. Pasquet say, before the Rev. Mr. Whelan removed to Bohemia, that the lot for the Church and the grave-yard, was to consist of two acres, with accessible roads. I would wish to be informed, if this is what is expected, as I shall feel a pleasure in complying with whatever you may order or wish to have reserved on that subject.

"Mr. Hearne's desire to insure the services of a Catholick Clergyman for the district of West Chester, and your letter, afford me a latitude that I did not expect when I forwarded my proposal. Your letter states, that from the proceeds of the sale, Mr. Hearn's loan be reimbursed ; and Mr. Hearn is determined to mortgage the amount of his

loan on the land of Whiteclay Creek, for the use of the Priest who will attend the congregation at West Chester, his design is also to make the mortgage irredeemable.\* It was my intention to pay off Mr. Hearne's two hundred pounds immediately, as I could not flatter myself, being a stranger, with the convenience you were kind to mention—nor could I desire Mr. Hearne's plan.

"At all events, I make myself answerable to him, from this month, for his principal: the remaining four hundred pounds shall be funded and secured as prescribed.

"Mr. & Mrs. Hearn, & Mr. & Mrs. Kenny return their thanks & respects for your polite remembrance of them.

"After Easter time, I shall take an opportunity of waiting on you in Baltimore, a conditional bill of sale or whatever deeds necessary on this occasion, may be then completed, when I hope I shall have the too long delayed honour and pleasure of assuring you with earnestness and truth of the sentiments of submission and esteem

"with which

"I am, Rt. Rev. Sir, your most obedient,

"humble servant,

"P. KENNY."

"I hope that Rev. Mr. Beeston is well & that he'll accept of my respects.

"Goshen, near West Chester.

"Feby 3d 1806."

"RT. REV. SIR—

"I forwarded a letter enclosing a copy of conditional agreement to be signed by Rev. Mr. Molyneux. As it's now three months since I dropped it in the post office, Philadelphia, and have received no answer, I surmise it must have miscarried; in that case, on receiving advice, I shall forward a second.

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\* See APPENDIX No. I.



"Mr. Hearn has been dangerously ill in Philad. these three weeks past, but is pronounced, by the Doctors, to be completely recover'd & purposes returning to Goshen in a few days.

"Mrs. H & he join me in most sincere sentiments

"of esteem & regard & am Rt. Rev. Sir

"Your obliged humble servt.

"P. KENNY."

"Philad Nov. 11th 1806."

"Rt. Rev. Doctor Carroll."

"RT. REV. DR. CARROLL.

"RT. REV. SIR—

"I took the liberty of forwarding, last fall, a few lines, expressing an apprehension that the article of agreement I put into the Post office, Philadelphia, had not gone to hand. It was to be signed by Rev. Mr. Mollyneux & return'd to me. The only purport of that article was, to insure me a promise of a title and Deed of Sale, when I should have paid off the amount of my accepted proposal, six hundred pounds. A simple promise, under the seal of the Proprietors, will answer as well, as if affix'd to the article I sent in August.

"I stated in my proposal that I'd take charge of Mr. Anthony Hearn's loan to the incorporated Catholick Clergy of Maryland, and offer'd him, lately, the annual interest—for as he has sunk, by his last will, the principal in the land of White clay Creek, to insure the attendance of a Priest in West Chester, I can not think of living with him, and accepting of the interest at the same time—but he declined taking it, as I had no legal instrument from the Corporation.\* This promise of a deed of sale, would be moreover highly satisfactory to me, as it would leave me at ease, in the present system of improving the

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\* See APPENDIX No. I.

plantation, and particularly in building or repairing buildings now going on, and that must cease, in the event of any further delay.

"Mr. & Mrs. Hearn desire their best wishes and compliments to Doctor Carroll.

"I am, Rt. Rev. Sir, with all possible

"respect, Your Most obedient, humble

"Servant PATK. KENNY."

"Philadelphia May 6th 1807."

"GOSHEN, PENNSA. Sept. 3d 1807.

"RT. REV. DOCTOR CARROLL.

"RT. REV. SIR.

"Mr. William Jenkins, who has been on a visit to your worthy friends, Mr. Mrs. Hearn and Judge Willcox, takes charge of this. It is to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 23d May last. This I should have performed sooner, but was informed that Doctor Carroll would be in the country. I'd be happy to say that I had received any account whatever from Rev. Doctor Mollyneux; and our business seems firmly fix'd in statu quo, nor am I anxious to obtain further assurance on the subject, than what Dr. Carroll's late letters have convey'd.

"The troublesome person from the neighborhood of New Castle of the name of [———], is known to be deranged—I desir'd her to bring her daughters to Church, that they should be instructed & baptised, but to no purpose.

"I am, Rt. Rev. Sir, with respects

"Your humble & obliged servant

"PATK. KENNY."

"P. S. Mr & Mrs Hearn present their

"best wishes to Doctor Carroll."

" RT. REV. SIR—

" I received the Rev. Mr. Molyneux's article for White clay Creek, on the 3d inst. from Mr. Bernard Bryne's hands, Philadelphia, and shall endeavor to comply, as soon as may be convenient, with its contents.

" Mr. & Mrs. Hearn join me in wishes and compliments of the season, not only for the ensuing year, but for numerous others.

" I remain, Rt. Rev. Sir,  
 " with unfeign'd esteem & regard  
 " Yr humble and obliged servant  
 " P. KENNY."

" Wilmington, Decb 15th 1807 "

" RT. REV. DOCTOR CARROLL."

## APPENDICES.

### APPENDIX (NO. I.) ON ANTHONY HEARN.

A few short biographical sketches of some of Father Kenny's intimate friends are here given; as he frequently mentions them in his diary. Anthony Hearn is referred to first; because Father Kenny was living with him, as a member of his family, shortly after his arrival in this country. At this late date the writer has been unable to ascertain when or where Father Kenny and Anthony Hearn became acquainted.

The following statement was written by Mr. Mark W. Jenkins, of Baltimore, shortly after the death of his aunt, Mrs. Hearn, in April, 1843. It has lately been copied by his nephew, Mr. Edward Jenkins, to be included in this paper. It runs thus:—

" Sarah, oldest child of Michael Jenkins, was born at Long Green, Baltimore Co., Md., in 1763. She married Anthony Hearn, an Irish Gentleman. Mr. Hearn brought to this country credentials from several of the highest dignitaries in the Catholic Church in Waterford, Ireland,

contained in a curious instrument written on parchment, in Latin, and setting forth the highest encomiums on Mr. Hearn and his family.

"This certificate was preserved in a tin case, and was found, after Sarah Hearn's death, in an old trunk belonging to her, and is now in the hands of Mr. Oliver Jenkins.

"Soon after the marriage Mr. Hearn purchased a farm near West Chester, Pa., on which he and his wife resided many years; having for a companion the Rev. Mr. Kenny, who lived in his family, and attended the congregations in the neighborhood, amongst others the one at Concord.

"Mr. Hearn afterwards removed from the farm (which he sold) to a country seat at Turner's Lane, near Philada., where he died some 25 years ago.

"Since his death Sarah Hearn lived in Baltimore, and attended Mass every morning, weather permitting."

Mr. Alfred Sharpless, of West Chester, has kindly searched the Recorder's office there, and sent to the writer the following memorandum concerning the purchase of the farm in Goshen—

"Indenture made the 21st day of Sep 1791 between Stephen Moylan of Goshen, in the County of Chester, and Anthony Hearn, lately of the City of Cadiz, in the Kingdom of Spain, but now of Philada." The farm contained 359 acres, and the price paid was 2146 pounds in specie.

Mr. Hearn moved to Germantown prior to May 18th, 1810. On that day Father Kenny, in his diary, stated that John Gallagher took blind horse Bob to Mr. Hearn, at Germantown, near Philadelphia.

After Anthony Hearn removed to Germantown, he was a pew holder in St. Augustine's church.\*

Anthony Hearn died on May 3d, 1817. His will is dated May 16th, 1816, and is registered at Philadelphia in *Will Book* No. 6, page 496. In it he stated—"I was born in

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\* See these "RECORDS," Vol. I., page 356.

the City of Waterford, Ireland, and resided about 30 years in Cadiz, Spain, and afterwards about 17 years in Goshen Pa. I desire to be buried in the Roman Catholic burying ground of St. Augustine's Church, in Philadelphia, in as plain a manner as is consistent with decency. I confirm the marriage contract entered into with my wife Nov 18th 1794, and witnessed by Revd. Bieton (lately dcd) and Robert Walsh, merchant, both of Baltimore.

"I have mortgages and bonds for sixteen hundred Dollars on the lands of Mill Creek Hundred in New Castle County & State of Delaware, the one for thirteen hundred thirty three & one third Dollars from the Reverend Patrick Kenny direct to me, & the other for two hundred sixty six & two thirds Dollars (part of a mortgage for a larger sum) from Thomas Maguire on the adjoining land, to said Patrick Kenny & by him endorsed to me: both said Mortgages are recorded at New Castle the sixth and seventh of June in the year 1810; the legal interest payable in Philada: of which interest I desire my Executors to pay thirty two dollars a year to the Roman Catholic Pastor of the Borough of West Chester for the time being." The will then directs that five hundred and thirty three and one third Dollars be invested; the interest accruing therefrom is to be forever applied towards the support of the Pastor of said church of West Chester. The money is to be invested on such good security as the pastor jointly with the trustees of such church or a majority of them, for the time being, shall approve of.

In continuation Mr. Hearn declared as follows: "Having had the misfortune in 1772 of becoming a Bankrupt, and tho in or about the year 1776 I made a fair and just composition with my creditors; still they sustained considerable loss by me; therefore as soon as the legal representatives of my quondam creditors (whose names are hereunto specified, and also in my Book Z fo 11, now in my desk at Turner's Lane) can be assert'd (which I suppose can best be effected by repeated advertisements



monthly for one or more years if requisite in the London and Madeira Gazettes)."

Mr. Hearn then gave the names of his creditors, with the amount due to each, and the former address of each; and he directed his executors to remit the residue of his estate to the legal representatives of them.

Mr. Hearn nominated as his executors "Redmond Byrne and John Carrell, Merchants, and Joseph Snyder Blacksmith of Philadelphia."

Among the papers supplied to the writer, by Mr. William M. Byrne, is a copy of the record at Newcastle, wherein Rev. Patrick Kenny borrowed from John Carrell and Joseph Snyder the sum of \$533.33\* on March 1st, 1824, which amount he repaid to them on August 23d, 1827.

On October 25th, 1826, Father Kenny stated in his diary—"I wrote to Neal Ferry and other Trustees of the Wt Chester Church about John Carrell's and Jos. Snyder's putting out the late Anthony Hearn's legacy on good security in Philada &c."

The writer has been unable to ascertain what has been the fate of the above mentioned bequest of \$533.33. Rev. S. B. Spalding, of West Chester, stated that he knows nothing about it.

The \$1,600.00, above referred to, represents the amount which Mr. Hearn loaned to Father Kenny in 1810, in order to buy the farm at Coffee Run.

The destiny of two well known Catholic families was moulded by the circumstance of Mr. Hearn settling near West Chester and marrying Miss Sarah Jenkins; although he had no children.

Charles Kenny † first met his wife, while she was visiting her sister Mrs. Hearn, near West Chester; and from him two priests and a Sister of Mercy have descended.

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\* This was a part of \$1,600.00 which he had just paid to the same executors.

† See APPENDIX NO. II.

Other descendants are now living in the vicinity of Pittsburg.

William Jenkins, of Baltimore, while on a visit to his sister Mrs. Hearn, and during a fox hunt over the hills and through the vallies, in that vicinity; across the same farms on which the writer has hunted, and which, in season, are still almost weekly galloped over by enthusiastic huntsmen, in the same pursuit, met some of the family of Mark Willcox living at Ivy Mills, in Concord. All being Catholics, it was quite natural to find him, soon after, under the hospitable roof of the old homestead there; and that he subsequently became a frequent visitor there.

William Jenkins' admiration for Eleanor, the oldest child and only daughter of Mark Willcox, in time ripened into love.

In order to fortify his suit, he subsequently produced a letter from Joseph Townsend, formerly of West Chester, but then living in Baltimore, who was an old friend of Mark Willcox.

Being a plain speaking Quaker he wrote briefly but "to the point."

"Friend Mark Willcox. If William Jenkins wants to marry thy daughter let him have her."

William Jenkins married Eleanor Willcox in the year 1801.

No comment is needed concerning William Jenkins, or his large family of descendants now living in Maryland, which includes Rev. Charles Jenkins, S.J., of Leonardtown, in St. Mary's County.

As Anthony Hearn was born in the city of Waterford, in Ireland; and as Father Kenny, as stated in his diary, corresponded with somebody in that city, there are some grounds for the belief that he was a former resident there; and that his future domicile, with Mr. Hearn, was prearranged before he sailed from Europe for Wilmington.

## APPENDIX (NO. II.) ON CHARLES KENNY.

Another friend of Rev. Patrick Kenny, who is frequently mentioned in the diary, was Charles Kenny, of West Chester. Though having the same name he was not related to the priest.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Charles B. Kenny, of Pittsburg, Pa., grandson of the Charles Kenny, now under consideration, for the following information abstracted from a recent letter:—

“Charles Kenny was born in Ireland on November 1st, 1760. He arrived in New York on August 12th, 1791, and at Philadelphia, on August 24th. After his removal to West Chester he married Miss Mary Jenkins, a sister of Mrs. Anthony Hearn, on February 14th, 1801.

“He was appointed to the office of Register and Recorder of Chester County by Gov. Simon Snyder, on January 12th, 1809; very much, it seems, to the disgust of some of his neighbors, who sent a delegation to Harrisburg to prevent the appointment. It appears they represented to the Governor that there were many worthy persons in Chester County, who would be more acceptable to the people than an Irishman and a Catholic. The Governor, I am told, in reply said he would ask just two questions; and on their answer would depend the result.

“‘Is Mr. Kenny a moral man?’ They confessed they had never heard anything to the contrary. ‘Is he capable of discharging fitly the duties of his office?’ It was admitted that he was. The Governor then said, ‘if Mr. Kenny is of good moral character and capable, as he comes to me well recommended, the matter of his race or religion will not be considered by me.’

“But, although he obtained the appointment, he had a hard time of it with many of his neighbors; which accounts for the pretty strong language in Father Kenny’s letter, alluding to that trouble which grandfather had there; and which became so acute, at times, that he could

with difficulty restrain a clerk in the office, a Protestant Irishman, from getting up a regular riot ; especially when he would discover a stuffed 'paddy' hanging before the door in the morning, with a string of potatoes about his neck.

"Charles Kenny removed to Fara, ten miles from Pittsburgh in 1818. He became the warm personal and political friend of Robert J. Walker, afterwards President Polk's Secretary of the Treasury ; and it was through his suggestion and influence that Mr. Kenny was appointed to the Electoral College of Pennsylvania that cast the vote of the State for General Jackson in 1828.

"The depth and fervor of Charles Kenny's religious convictions were such as would inevitably attract him to a Priest of Father Kenny's temperament ; and it seems, in some degree, to have been transmitted to his children ; as his oldest son, Anthony H. Kenny died a saintly Priest, at an early age ; and his youngest son died a Jesuit, in the establishment of that order at St. Stanislaus near St. Louis. One of his grand-daughters, now living, is Mother Superior of the order of Sisters of Mercy, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

"Charles Kenny was always an ardent Democrat, as most Irishmen naturally disposed to home rule are ; and I fancy it was the promulgation of that doctrine that brought him in conflict with the Rev. Father Prince Galitzin, then of Cambria County, in this State, who was equally an ardent advocate of strong centralized government. One was as strong an admirer of Jackson as the other was of Henry Clay. But it was after the prince Priest denounced the Irish as 'birds of Newgate and Kilmainham' that Mr. Kenny, over the signature of 'Tyrconnell,' caused his reverend antagonist to deplore the fact that this writer was demoralizing his people, and leading them away from sound principles."

Charles Kenny's son, Thomas Jenkins Kenny, is now living at Fara, at the advanced age of 93 years, where his father died in 1845.



When Rev. Patrick Kenny first settled near West Chester, Charles Kenny was a merchant in that borough, and also a Justice of the Peace. Father Kenny usually called him "Squire."

The following is copied from a recent letter addressed to the writer, by Mr. Alfred Sharpless, of West Chester, who has manifested much interest in historical matters connected with that town.

"Charles Kenny owned and lived in a house on the south-west corner of Gay and High Streets.

"This corner, in those days, was known as the 'Rialto';" why so named, tradition does not say. I find that he sold this property to John W. Townsend and his brother, Eusebius, on April 1st, 1818, but do not find any record of his purchase. I have seen a copy of his commission as Register and Recorder from Gov. Simon Snyder.

"In Deed Book D. 3, Vol. 52, page 559, is recorded a conveyance from Stephen Moylan, Esq., Anthony Hearn, Gentleman, Mark Willcox, paper maker, and Lewis Jenkins, potter, (Daniel Fitzpatrick, Peter McGurk, Edward McCloskey and Jacob Wisinburg, the four last named being deceased,) in December, 1809, as Trustees conveying the church property in West Chester to the 'Catholic Congregation of Christ Church,' the property deeded to them March 20th, 1793, Book G. 2, Vol. 31, page 420, by John Hannum and wife. Patrick Kenny is named therein as Clergyman, and Charles Kenny was a Justice of the Peace, before whom Messrs. Hearn's and Jenkins' attorney Duer acknowledged the Deed. Moylan acknowledged it before Chief Justice Tilghman, and Mark Willcox before a Delaware County Justice."

Father Kenny manifested great interest and affection for Charles Kenny's son Anthony. Among the list of expenses in the diary, in July and August, 1810, it will be noticed that the kind-hearted priest occasionally bought raisins and figs for this favorite boy. This affectionate



regard for the youth was maintained until his death, which occurred 16 years later.

In 1826, Anthony Kenny, then a student in St. Mary's Theological Seminary, at Baltimore, spent his summer vacation, at the house of his devoted friend, the Rev. Patrick Kenny, at Coffee Run.

During the following October, Anthony Kenny was ordained a priest; and he then, being in feeble health, removed to the home of his parents at Fara, 11 miles from Pittsburg.

In the following month, Father Kenny, at Coffee Run, packed in a box a double suit of vestments and other articles needed by a priest, including a chalice, and forwarded them to Pittsburg, as a loan to Rev. Anthony Kenny.

The packing of this box, and the anxiety manifested by Father Kenny in arranging for its safe transportation to his young friend, the newly ordained priest at Fara, 350 miles in a common road wagon, attest his tender solicitude for his welfare.

But his pleasure was short-lived, and was soon turned to grief. Rev. Anthony Kenny died on February 5th, 1827, before the arrival of the box, which was returned to Coffee Run unopened.

When Charles Kenny removed to the vicinity of Pittsburg, in May, 1818, Father Kenny wrote in his diary—"Oh poor West Chester, not one Catholic house-keeper in the Borough!"

The annexed letter of Charles Kenny to Bishop Carroll was copied from the original now on file in Baltimore.

"TO THE RT. REV'D BISHOP CARROLL.

"REV'D SIR.

"Relying on your goodness, equanimity, and benignity of heart, and presuming that your Rev'ce is acquainted with my name and character as a Catholic, and one who holds a standing in society, not enviable, yet re-

spectable ; I beg leave to trespass on your time and patience with the following observations.

“In the beginning of the year of 1805, the Rev'd Demitrius Augustine Smith, of Loretto, Cambria County, (Penna.) called on me, being his first visit, and then and there did give a pleasing account of the rise and progress of Catholicity in his Congregation on the Allegheny mountain.

“This pleasing intelligence made such impressions on my mind, that I requested Mr. Smith to buy for my use a tract of land near the Church, which he did ; my motives for this were of the purest kind ; the first to add some respectability to the already growing and increasing interest of Catholicity in that quarter ; and secondly, to induce some Catholic families in this neighborhood, who contemplate a removal to some of the interior parts of Penna. to settle there. The plans I contemplated had the desired effect, for several Catholic families emigrated from this place last spring and settled near the Church of Loretto. My avocations in life prevented me from visiting that part of the Country sooner ; but such was my desire of going there that I began my journey from hence on the 17th ulto. and arrived on the Allegheny in 7 days after. On my arrival, I found Mr. Smith was absent in Greensburgh. I mingled with his hospitable congregation, when I learn'd that a Schism had broke out among the Catholics of that congregation, and insomuch that one part of them Petitioned Your Revce to cause an investigation of the complaints exhibited against Mr. Smith to be speedily set on foot, and if ought, to remove him—whilst another part of his hearers, and the most numerous, and I believe, the most respectable, Petitioned Your Revce in defence of Mr. Smith's conduct &c. &c. &c.

“I had the confidence of both parties, and each of them in their turn endeavored to enlist me in their respective complaints, but I took care not to enter into Judgment—I took care to act with caution and circumspection, and

after hearing both sides of the question, I endeavored to make advances towards an accommodation, but the shortness of my stay there, and the magnitude of the Schism produced, prevented me from bringing this desirable event to a happy conclusion; until such time as the will of Your Revce should be known.

"Perhaps in this impartial narration it may not be deemed improper in me to narrate some of the causes, in my humble conception, which gave rise to the Schism alluded to; and that is, a lust for petty county offices, scarcely deserving of the notice of reflecting minds; and national prejudices. The contending Parties are a few of the natives, backed by the German interest, and a body of the Irish\* on one side; and a few ambitious foreigners on the other side, among this latter class is a certain Mr. James, who in my opinion has neglected to exercise his talents in doing all the good which lay within the reach of his power, both by his good example, and advice.—

"Some characters among the latter of the contending Parties have Petitioned for Offices, whilst some of the former also Petitioned for the same; Mr. Smith it appears opposed the latter, and warmly recommended the former, this produced a Jealousy. Another circumstance added to the Jealousy, an Irishman and a German had a quarrel, and it appears that Mr. Smith thought proper to censure publicly the Irishman; this gave currency to a report that Mr. S. was favourable to the Germans and the natives, and averse to foreigners.

"As far as a partial knowledge can enable me to form conclusions, I have no hesitation to say that in my opinion the charges brought against Mr. S. is illy founded, it is a maxim with me, that a Man is innocent until his guilt is proven; the query is, whether his accusers are actuated from religious motives, or that of Jealousy, and disappointment—be that as it may—it would be an act of

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\* A majority of the Irish are in favor of Mr. Smith.

great charity to have the matter investigated by 2 Clergymen before Your Revce proceed to act.

“The congregation is large, some of its members respectable, and in appearance pious and exemplary. I pray Your Revce to keep this communication a secret from the parties concerned. I pray you also, to receive it as the spontaneous wish of my heart, to preserve our holy religion in Allegheny from the scandal of heritics in that place.

“Your most obedt servt

“CHARLES KENNY.”

“West Chester, Chester County

“June 22d 1807 ”

“DEAR SIR,

“Moses Dunlevy has faithfully discharged your commission. He has given me your letter, interesting letter indeed in every respect. However I longed to learn how your valuable family came on, since you forsook our forlorn neighbourhood, little did I imagine that you'd have to mention the sad event, that happen'd to my d<sup>r</sup>. boy Thomas— The accident was so like unto one that befel myself in 1811, that the reading of the paragraph chill'd me for a long while—my confinement was for six weeks—I had no father, mother, or doctor to attend, advise, assist or comfort me— The axe enter'd on the middle joint of the big toe, and cut up the roots of the three adjoining toes, leaving the little one, of the left sore leg, uninjur'd— The loss of blood, and the difficulty of stopping it's current must naturally have appall'd my poor boy, but especially his distracted mother, more agonised still, by the thought of y<sup>r</sup>. absence from home at the moment— Thanks be to God that my D<sup>r</sup>. child is now safe. I am sure he knows how to be grateful to divine Providence and to it's agents, his Parents. Do, I request of you, by the earliest opportunity, favor me with an account of his convalescence—for no expense of postage shall be consider'd, when an information,

so vital to the quiet of my mind is asked, as the greatest mark of friendship you can, now, confer on me—

“ From Moses Donl<sup>y</sup>’s minute description of your farm, I can, almost, think myself to be in the centre of Tara, or on board your excellent and swift sailing skiff, floating down to Pittsb<sup>g</sup> and returning with a cargo of specie from its market— It is thus your slips of sons will become enamour’d with the sweets of industry, elated with true independence, and prove themselves, on a future, and perhaps a trying day, the props of their country, and the main stays of aged progenitors— O may the mercies of my God spare them to you, and ye to them ! Our month of January has began so hard, and finishes this day with unabated winter violence that, I could not face the roads to W<sup>h</sup> Chester, but forwarded all the letters by Moses, who will give you the details of his journey thither. I am sorry to inform you that, my good old and young friends David Lewis and family move from the Green-Tree on the 25 of March, to their farm on Brandywine, and Miller and his son are to take my very obliging peoples’ place, to the great detriment of my feeling, and purse—for on my last visit, our collection did not clear more than half of landlord’s moderate charge for self and horse— All our old members, Thos. Fitzpatrick and family, Alice and Neal Ferry and children are the bulk of the muster-roll of W<sup>h</sup> Ches<sup>r</sup> congregation, they are well, and we always have a word or two of chat about the Squire and Polly, regretting their absence to be sure— Robert Sproul is as you left him hearty, plump and gay—of any others I know nothing, nor can there be room for extending acquaintance, as the sum amass’d for the repairs of the church, in December, amounted to the humble contribution of two cents.

“ I really am distress’d to learn that the Rev. Mr. OBrien seems determin’d on bidding you farewell— Get what clergyman you may, Rev M<sup>r</sup> OB<sup>n</sup>. will be regretted— Indeed Pittsburg should have a residing Pastor, or at most, a limited circumference of territory, consistent with regular



sabbath duty—but in the present dearth of Priests, it is also hard to refuse a share of the heavenly bread to those who call for it afar. Patience under privations is characteristic of the christian *militaire*, as well as of the earthly soldier. Happy would I be to pitch my bouviac, or tent in some fix'd spot like Pittsb<sup>a</sup>—for I am surfeited with riding post, these seventeen years—still, it seems decreed that I must ride on. And wellcome be the will of God, visibly made known to me in the will and orders of my superiors—M<sup>ra</sup> El<sup>ia</sup>. Walsh has received her letter. I directed it to the care of Rev. M<sup>r</sup> Barth, who is as punctual as the Post-Master Gen<sup>l</sup>. Times are so distressingly bad here that it is not prudent to attempt to describe them, lest a pen should seem dipp'd in exaggeration-ink. They force me to let my place upon the shares. I am no longer able to hire and board one hand, and to attempt to sell, would be a folly bordering on phrenzy— Property is at 0, below the freezing thermometer degree. A trial of first magnitude compells me to this letting on the shares—Tho<sup>a</sup>. Maguire who agreed to purchase 41 acres off my tract, and paid an earnest such as to entitle him to a deed, he giving mortgage and bond, and judgment for the remainder with interest, has paid no interest these 2 ½ years past, and whatever he had in Delaware state is in the claws of the sheriff—whilst he moved himself and what he could out of the state, to Philad<sup>ia</sup> making an assignment of my land into the hands of a near neighbour of mine Will<sup>m</sup> Barker, a stern despiser of catholics, and who soon will despise Maguire of course— The disjointing of any portion of my land for protestant manouvres, is a measure unpardonable, as Maguire well knew my intention from the beginning of having a catholic family on that spot, to be auxiliary to catholic purposes on that part of the plantation I hold myself— At this disappointment, I am more excruciatingly vex'd, than at his arrears of money-payments, as herein I am secur'd by law, whenever the sheriff shall announce his vendue— We have had no rain until the ground was

hard frozen, it then flow'd off without benefitting the springs—thus the want of water is sorely felt in many places, whilst thanks to God the pump I sunk two years ago supplies my house and all my cattle abundantly.

"As I now write a letter is put into my hand from Rev. Mr. Barth ordering me to make ready to take his place in St. Mary's for three months— Am I not a foot ball, or rolling-stone? Welcome again be the will of God, however detrimental my absence may prove to my place.

"A thousand respectful remembrances to Mrs. K<sup>r</sup>. John Willcox was in Baltimore last month, all her Jenkins's, root and Branches are perfectly sound, hearty and doing well— Jn Willcox says that he never saw Mrs. Hearn look half so well—

"Tell Dr. Charity Anne, Mary, and all yr Dr. boys that I am proud to hear Moses D<sup>lv</sup>y speak so highly of them.

*I am Dr. & valuable Friend,  
Wm. Lloyd Garrison*

"COFFEE RUN,

"Jany. 31, 1820—

"P. S. Rev. Mr. Girr assur'd me, when I was last in Philad<sup>a</sup> that the Rev. Mr. Barth had refused, point-blank, to appoint him as successor to the Rev. Mr. O'Brien. Rev. Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Girr, nevertheless, knows the back country right well, & tho' corpulent, thinks nothing of mountains."

"COFFEE RUN, Jan<sup>y</sup> 15 1823.

"DEAR & WORTHY FRIEND,—

"I cannot let the first month of the year slide off, without expressing my best wishes for you, for yr valuable Lady, and whole family—May Kind Providence that watches over the grain of sand on all the shores of the Globe,

watch over y<sup>r</sup> household, and direct it in the faithful observance of his immutable law until honourable old age fits every member thereof for a more permanent abode.

“Moses Donlevy mentions in a letter received by his sister Betsy, a few days ago, that Anthony\* is at College at Baltimore—I hope that you and his Mother will not regret the choice he has made, since I am convinced you never influenced his mind by hint, or by unwarrantable command—I done all in my power, honestly and sternly, to dissuade him—but in vain—He perhaps has shew’d you our early correspondence— You and I have left him to a superior impulse—May he never deviate—! Tell him in yr. next letter that I shall be glad to hear from him, and proud, to have a sample of his proficiency.

“The drought of last summer has left me behind in all the necessary supplies of I. corn, potatoes, and garden vegetables— I had no grass to fatten a steer, nor have I corn sufficient for house use, and hogs— Wheat as deficient as every other crop with me— You easily guess from this brief sketch what a scarce spring and summer is before me—Yet as Providence has order’d it so, it is my duty to be submissive and thankful that absolute want, such as Ireland lately experienced, stares us not in the face—

“During our late Bishop’s life, and during the worthy Rev. Mr. Barthe’s administration, Philad<sup>la</sup>, occasionally, kept me above water— But since manouvres anticatholic, and proceedings revolting to a civilized mind, and obstinacy of a double mongrel hue, Irish and English combining, Philad<sup>la</sup> has sunk in the estimation of its quondam admirers, has become a jail for it’s true Pastors, and a penitentiary for it’s best catholics— Degraded and degrading Pennsylvania state! S<sup>t</sup>. Helena under a Sir Hudson Lowe, was preferable to thee— It profess’d openly it’s creed, to hold in distant exile, and in durance vile, a man, who trusting to British generosity, experienced nothing

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\* Subsequently the Rev. Anthony Kenny.

but British despotism— Worse, the duped emigrant Irish true catholic trusting to unshackled religious freedom, constitutionally proclaim'd to the world by the state of Penn, has been insidiously watch'd since 1783, and finally driven from the catholic edifice he and his children had built, or contributed to raise, in 1823—and the same adjudged, last year. by the supreme court as a fit place for such as the catholic church disowns as members, to occupy and assemble— Political oppression is proverbial, but religious freedom, I find, has to wander yet, farther than the Western Atlantic shores— Philad<sup>la</sup> has caught the Chester C<sup>o</sup> influenza. *You* know how the extensive limits of that District became too narrow, or too thorny for *you*. If Anth<sup>y</sup> should take holy Orders, Pennsylvania, without a legislative atonement for the past, which no true Catholic expects, should never be the theatre of his missionary talents.— Washington himself sunk on Brandywine, thro' the impenetrable wiles, and dissimulation of the inhabitants—

“Be kind to communicate the under following lines to Moses Dunlevy as an answer to his letter that his sister received some few days ago from him—and believe me, with uniform sentiments of attachment, regard, and esteem for you, Mrs. K. and family.

“——Y<sup>r</sup> warm friend—P. KENNY.”

“DR. BROTHER—

“I received your letter enclosing a five doll<sup>r</sup> Pittsburg Bank note, for which y<sup>r</sup> Mother and I are very thankful—James McBride is about here, jobbing, and fatigued to death running after the penny he earns, & cannot get a cent. Pat<sup>k</sup> Boland died at sea last summer, returning from Port au Prince to New Orleans— We have had no news from Ireland. Y<sup>r</sup> mother had an alarming spell of cough for three weeks. We looked for every night to be her last, but thanks to God, she is as well these two months past as I can wish her to be— My own strength is



fast declining, but not the spirits. We are exceedingly uneasy, as Rev. Mr. Kenny has advertised our whole side of his farm for sale—God knows where I shall write to you from, next. Wheat \$1.30. Corn 75<sup>c</sup> oats 40<sup>c</sup> potat<sup>s</sup> 50<sup>c</sup> No work of any kind, but Factory work, and it bad—

“Y<sup>r</sup> lov<sup>s</sup> sister BETSY DONLEVY”

#### APPENDIX (NO. III) ON MR. AND MRS. VICTOR DU PONT.

Father Kenny, in his diary, frequently mentions the name of Du Pont. Madam Victor Du Pont was a devout Catholic; and, living only a few miles from Coffee Run, she attended service there and rented a pew in the little log church. She frequently brought in her carriage little tokens of regard in the shape of either fruit, flowers, vegetables, cabbage or tomato plants, or garden seeds, which greatly pleased the priest.

As she and her husband were highly cultured persons, and, in those times, were considered near neighbors, Father Kenny was pleased to make frequent visits to their house, considering them among his most valued friends.

At the request of the writer, Col. Henry A. Du Pont, living near Wilmington, has written some information concerning his uncle and aunt Mr. and Mrs. Victor Du Pont, from which the following is taken.

“Victor Marie Du Pont de Nemours, Diplomatist and Manufacturer, eldest son of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, was born in Paris, France, in October, 1767. At the age of sixteen he entered the bureau of his father, who was then Inspector-General of Commerce; and from June, 1785, to January, 1787, traveled over a large portion of the kingdom, collecting statistics in regard to French agriculture, commerce and manufactures for the information of the minister of finance.

“He was appointed attaché of the French Legation to the United States in 1787, where he remained two years and then returned to France, where he held several official



positions. On two occasions he subsequently returned to the United States in an official capacity; once as Second Secretary of Legation in 1791, and, in 1795, he was promoted as First Secretary of Legation.

"In 1809, he joined his younger brother Irenée Du Pont, on the Brandywine River, near Wilmington, Delaware; where he established a cloth manufactory, and passed the remainder of his life.

"His appointment by the Government as a Director of the Bank of the United States, and his election to the Delaware Legislature, attest the respect and esteem which he enjoyed until his sudden death, in Philad<sup>a</sup>, on the 30th of January, 1827.

"Victor Du Pont married, on the 9th of April, 1794, Gabrielle Josephine de la Fite de Pelleport. He left two sons—Charles Irenée Du Pont, and Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont, of the United States Navy, and two daughters."

The following is also taken from a recent letter of Col. Du Pont addressed to the writer.

"Although Mr. Victor Du Pont de Nemours married a Roman Catholic lady, and his daughters were brought up in that faith, it may be appropriate for me to say, here, that our family (Du Pont de Nemours) is of Huguenot origin, and has been always Protestant as far back as we can trace.

"There seems to be some misconception about this in Roman Catholic circles.

"Our family has been confounded with the du Pont de Gault family, from San Domingo, whose name appears on the R. C. Church registers.

"Bishop Becker, formerly of Wilmington, labored under the same mistake, and at Mrs. Shubrick's funeral, to the great surprise of those present, made certain very pointed allusions to the assembled Du Pont family in regard to their loss of faith; the truth being that they had never lost the Protestant faith."

It is deemed proper that this misapprehension should be corrected at this time. The writer, during a life-long acquaintance with several members of the Du Pont family, including Mrs. Shubrick, a daughter of Madam Victor Du Pont, has repeatedly heard the same statement, from them, that Col. Du Pont now writes.

From the same letter of Col. Du Pont the following is taken.

"Gabrielle-Josephine de la Fite de Pelleport, wife of Victor—Marie Du Pont de Nemours, was born at Stenay, France, 20th March, 1770, and died at Louviers, near Wilmington, Delaware, 6th November, 1837.

"She was the daughter of Gabriel-René de la Fite, Marquis de Pelleport, Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry, gentleman of the household of the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X."

The following is extracted from an obituary notice of Mrs. Victor Du Pont, written by her son, the late Rear-Admiral Du Pont of the United States Navy.

"Died at Louviers on the Brandywine, Gabrielle Josephine de Pelleport, relict of the late Victor Du Pont, whose memory is still cherished by the friends who have mourned him in this State.

"The deceased was born in 1770 and was educated at Versailles, where her father, the Marquis de Pelleport, held an appointment in the house of the King's brother.

"She witnessed the commencement of all the monstrous events of the Revolution of 1789, the contemplation of which made her appreciate more fully the blessings of peace and tranquillity which she found in her adopted country."

Father Kenny relates that he first heard of the death of his friend, Mr. Victor Du Pont, on January 31st, 1827, which occurred in Philadelphia. Thereupon he went off to his house on the Brandywine. On the way he met Lieutenant Shubrick,\* the son-in-law of his deceased

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\* Afterwards Commander Shubrick of the United States Navy.

friend, who confirmed the melancholy news. When he arrived at the house he found the whole family in the utmost confusion and desolation. On the next day the hearse arrived from Philadelphia in the evening. Mr. Smith, the father of Master Daniel Smith, was there, also Lawyer James Barclay. On the following day, February 2d, the body was removed from the house, in the morning, across the Brandywine, on the ice, on which a platform of boards was laid; and the interment took place before noon.

#### APPENDIX (NO. IV.) ON PETER PROVENCHERE.

The following has been extracted from a short biographical sketch of Peter Provenchere, recently sent by his great-grandson, P. William Provenchere, of St. Louis, to the writer. Mr. Provenchere was a neighbour and intimate friend of Mr. John Keating, in Wilmington; which friendship was maintained after they both removed to Philadelphia. They were both valued friends of Father Kenny.

"Peter Provenchere was born at Orleans, France, in the year 1740 and received a thorough education in the best institutions of learning of his native country.

"Soon after the accession of Louis XVI he was appointed to a position in the household of the king's eldest brother, afterwards Louis XVIII, and gained the confidence of the Royal family to such an extent that he was shortly afterwards selected as a tutor for the young Duc de Berri, remaining with him until the Revolution broke out and even following the Bourbons into exile.

"In 1794, the education of his pupil being completed, Mr. Provenchere came to the United States, whither his brother had preceded him, and settled at Wilmington Delaware. He remained there until 1808 and then came to Philadelphia, where he lived until his death on January 19th, 1831.

“During these many years he was in constant correspondence with his former patrons who notwithstanding their exalted rank, regarded him as a friend and paid to him regularly an annuity, which at first he declined, but was afterwards induced to accept when fortune smiled more favorably upon them.

“During the latter years of his life, although he had passed the age allotted to most men, he was still in the possession of good health and free from infirmities. He preserved an erect and dignified deportment and a refinement of manner which is unfortunately not often met with in these days. Up to his eightieth year he took great pleasure in reading the works of the best Latin, French and Italian writers and was well versed therein.

“He was a true Christian and devoted himself to religious works, more especially during the few years immediately preceding his death.

“His character is thus described by one of his most intimate friends who said ‘I do not recollect a single word from him that I would wish had been unsaid or a single act that had better been undone.’ ”

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN YONKERS-ON-THE- HUDSON, N. Y.

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BY MARION J. BRUNOWE.

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"Surely the crown of all your glory—the pride of Catholicity in your beautiful city!"

The speaker stood upon Valentine Hill, an eminence noteworthy indeed even in this city of hills, while his glance sought admiringly the panorama above, beyond and below, returning to rest once more upon the magnificent pile, which with turrets and steeples and gleaming crosses crowns the apex of the hill. A cloud of tender azure arched above it, off to the east lay the blue waters of Long Island Sound, while beyond them again stretched the gently undulating Island hills. To the north and the south lay hill and dale, wood-land and valley, fertile field and winding highway, while dark against the mass of glowing western sky were silhouetted the grand Palisades at whose foot shone and sparkled, danced and glittered the lovely waters of the Hudson. Cities, towns and villages lay, in perspective, all around and about and beneath us. East, west, north and south from out their midst shone here and there wherever the eye might turn the Cross—the solemn, the glorious emblem of the Faith. Here, shone more than one touched by the rays of the setting sun, many-hued, amber, crimson, ruby, sapphire, amethyst and glowing gold, in their grandeur, like unto the old Faith thus triumphing in their uprearing. Others again in the more peaceful shadow, pointed steadily, calmly heavenward, as most surely have ever pointed the faith of those pioneers, brave and true in religious cause, to whose noble efforts Catholicity throughout our land owes all her vigor.



To tell of them all and their wonderful success even in this single county of Westchester would far exceed the limits of our present space,—would, indeed, fill volumes, and with details more fascinating than may be found in many a romance.

Surely is truth stranger than fiction; hence, let it be our present somewhat timorous task to essay to relate in as few words as possible the strangely true story of Catholicity in one comparatively small city—Yonkers-on-the-Hudson.

“Yes,” said the Stranger again, “it is the crown—the crown of your ‘Terrace City.’ It, more than anything else perhaps, marks the triumph of Catholicity in this vicinity.”

My glance again followed his to dwell with pride and joy upon the well nigh completed Theological Seminary. The spot upon which we stood was, like all the country round about, redolent of grand historic memories. In the past it had been consecrated by the blood of heroes—heroes in a nation’s cause. Now, and in the future another and yet holier consecration awaits it,—the consecration of the lives of those other heroes,—heroes in God’s cause.

1776.\*

“Here on this hill in the olden days,  
When veins ran warm with a patriot fire,  
They stood in the ranks, their hearts ablaze,  
Shoulder to shoulder, son and sire.

1896.

“Here on this hill in these golden days  
Shew faces glowing with voiceless joy,  
They stand prepared for the coming frays,  
Shoulder to shoulder, man and boy.”

Looking carefully over the old records of the county, the first mention or tradition of any Catholic service that we find in Yonkers proper, is about the year 1836, when

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\* Livingston.

the construction of the Croton Aqueduct was being undertaken. Along the line convenient to the work, temporary settlements were made, dwellings erected ; and here among the laborers from Sing Sing to New York (a distance of thirty miles), the Rev. James Cummisky brought priestly ministrations, consolation and advice. At first, Mass was said in any private room or rude dwelling most convenient. Gradually, however a permanent building was set apart and dedicated exclusively to religious services. The little chapel thus secured stood upon a gentle knoll overlooking the picturesque and winding Nepperhan. The locality is now known as Summit Street.

Father Cummisky is described as a large man of portly mien and mature years, who soon won the respect and affection of all with whom he came in contact. His advent brought peace and good-will among the rude workers, and quelled many an incipient riot and dissension among them. With the completion of the aqueduct, however, many of the workers scattered and departed, while necessity and duty called their temporary pastor elsewhere. The few Catholics, who were thus left, were solely dependant upon such neighboring missions as they could reach ; and such were few and far indeed between.

A decade or so earlier, in 1822, "there were," says the *Laity's Directory*, "but nine priests in the diocese of New York," a diocese which then included the whole state as well as the northern part of New Jersey, and of the nine "Rev. Philip Larissy\* attends regularly at Staten-Island, and different other congregations along the Hudson River."

Earlier even than this year Rev. Arthur Langdill had charge on the Hudson, and we find Bishop Connolly, the first bishop of New York, noting that he "had written to Mr. Langdill, care of Mr. McIntire at New Burgh." We

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\* This was the Rev. Philip Lariscy, not "Larissy," an Augustinian priest, who had served for some years on the mission in New England and New Foundland.—[NOTE by T. C. M. of the COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.]

also learn that the first church in the city of New York itself was old St. Peter's in Barclay street, founded in 1785,\* after the Revolution, and after the repeal of the old penal laws of the province. For 100 years previous to this the saying of Mass had been illegal. For a priest to come into the province was an offence punishable by death, while to harbor a priest meant a fine of two hundred pounds and three days in the pillory.†

Another hundred years have passed, and behold the transformation!—New York stands forth, of Catholics 800,000 strong—the premier archdiocese of the whole world! Such facts speak for themselves; comment is unnecessary.

To return, however, to Yonkers' vicinity. On May 29, 1833, Bishop Connolly laid the corner-stone of a Catholic college at Nyack. This was about the time of the earlier "Know Nothing" riots. The college, like the Ursuline Convent near Boston, was burned before it was ready for occupation. In order, however, to take its place, Bishop Hughes, some six years later, secured the property at Fordham, where St. John's College now stands. In 1841, it was opened for the reception of students, Rev. John McCloskey (afterwards Cardinal) being its first president. St. Joseph's Theological Seminary and the adjacent church were also built on the college grounds some four years later, and in the autumn of 1846 the college was placed in the hands of the Jesuits. As most of the professors were priests, they were

\* *The Catholic Press*, for 1830, says (at page 59) that the first Catholic church building in New York city was founded about 1786.—[NOTE by T. C. M. of the COM. OF HIST. RESEARCH.]

† In his *History of America*, (Vol. III. p. 350,) Justin Winsor says that "it was left to the wise men who laid the foundations of the Empire State in 1777 to put in practice the freedom of religion to all, which, strangely enough, was first guaranteed in word by the Catholic prince."

This Catholic prince was the Duke of York, under whom Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irish officer and a Roman Catholic, succeeded Andros in the governorship of the colony of New York.

With regard to the Penal Laws, which held in New York up to 1777, it is interesting to read the *Memoir of the Penal Times*, published in the *United States Catholic Magazine* for 1847, page 394.—[NOTE by T. C. M. of the COM. OF HIST. RESEARCH.]

able to extend their missions over Westchester county, Yonkers thus coming in for a share of their ministrations. Again, it was the laboring classes, and faithful Irish hearts mostly, whose needs and ardent wishes drew God's ministers once more to Yonkers. In 1847, the construction of the Hudson River railroad through Yonkers was begun, and Rev. J. J. Ryan, S.J., of Fordham, later first president of St. Francis Xavier's College, New York, was charged with the mission among the laborers. Every Sunday Mass was said in such private room as the little congregation could obtain. This was at first in the principal room of a dwelling near Morgan's Dye Works, not far from where Nepperhan Avenue now crosses the Nepperhan River. "Later," says the chronicle, "Mr. Morgan offered the use of a store-room belonging to his office, where the little congregation shared the space with boxes of logwood awaiting shipment." During the summer and autumn of 1848, however, Yonkers attained to the dignity of a three-story brick building, which yet stands at the corner of Palisade Avenue and Main Street. It was almost a wilderness then; it is the heart of the city now. The second floor of this ambitious mansion was hired for the Sunday services during this summer and fall. Earlier in the same year, however, the zealous pastor had begun to make collections among the workmen with a view to attempting to build a small church. A non-Catholic friend, Judge Woodworth, came to his aid, generously donating the land whereon to build the church. The offer was of course accepted, and the erection of the church shortly after begun. It was at first only a little building forty by seventy feet, with a tiny sacristy in the rear. Even this in prospective had seemed too large in proportion to the number of worshipers, and especially to their limited means. But, as Bishop Hughes had judiciously remarked, apropos of this objection, "I have always found the numbers as well as the abilities of such missions to exceed first anticipations. Let the plan be larger, rather than smaller."



Subsequent events shortly proved the wisdom of this advice. Fr. Ryan, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by a zealous convert parishioner, the late Mr. T. C. Cornell, to whose pamphlet on "*The Beginnings of the Roman Catholic Church in Yonkers*," we are indebted for the greater number of the present facts, made personal collections among his people, mostly in such small sums as fifty cents to a dollar. The building was partially completed in December of the same year—1848, the windows, however, being roughly boarded up, with here and there an old sash to let in a little light.\* Rude benches formed the seating accommodations; two stoves were set up, and with bare, brick walls and no ceiling but the rafters, the first Christmas Mass was said. The humble church was dedicated to our Blessed Lady under her glorious title of the Immaculate Conception; it is now ordinarily called "St. Mary's." The name of the street on which the church was erected was changed from South Street to St. Mary's Street, a name which it still retains.

Two years later, Fr. Ryan was called to St. Francis Xavier's, New York. He was succeeded in the Yonkers mission, first, by Fr. Bienvenue, S.J., then by Fr. Jouin, S.J. By the summer of '51, however, the little congregation thought itself able to maintain a resident pastor, and in answer to their expressed desire Archbishop Hughes deputed Rev. Thomas S. Preston to fill that office.

During Fr. Preston's pastorate the interior of the church was finished; and in November of the same year, the archbishop blessed the building and administered confirmation in it.

Fr. Ryan had already organized a Sunday School, teaching the children himself, and even training those who had voices that the church might have some sort of a choir.

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\* The old church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, commonly known as St. Mary's, is still standing, but no longer used for church purposes. The building has been fitted up as a hall for parish meetings—lectures, fairs, entertainments, and the like.



Soon after Fr. Preston's coming, more land was acquired and a little school-house was erected. This school was opened under a lay teacher in September, 1852, with not more than two dozen scholars in attendance. A year later, the two dozen had increased to more than eighty.

Yonkers had ere this risen to the dignity of a central mission, whose outskirts extended some ten miles along the river front, taking in Hastings, Dobb's Ferry and Tarrytown. These Fr. Preston attended also regularly; even building the church at Tarrytown, to which undertaking WASHINGTON IRVING was one of the most generous contributors.

At this time, there was no parochial residence in Yonkers; but in September, '53, the energetic pastor ventured to start the building of one. The modest dwelling was hardly enclosed however, when in October, 1853, the archbishop recalled Fr. Preston to New York to become his private secretary.

It was with feelings of deep regret that the congregation bade their pastor farewell. His zeal, devotion and self-sacrifice had endeared him to all hearts, and had done much to build up Catholicity in Yonkers.

He was succeeded by Fr. J. McMahon, who, after a few months was in turn replaced by Rev. Eugene Maguire. By that time, the handful of Catholics had increased to 1300, and the new pastor found it expedient to make provision for the dead, and therefore acquired the present St. Mary's Cemetery.

Fr. Maguire, in consequence of failing health, was soon obliged to resign his charge, in which he was, however, succeeded by Rev. Edward Lynch, in February, 1856.

The parish school which had been discontinued for two years was now reopened; the little school-house already mentioned being occupied by the girls, while Fr. Lynch undertook to provide for the boys by building a basement-room under the church, at a cost of some \$600. Even this, however, soon outgrew the needs and accommodations

of the rapidly increasing Catholic population. Fr. Lynch, who considered the school a most important work, began a building, of two stories, with basement and attic. By the help of a fair held in it, it was finished and opened in September, 1860.

The girls were placed in charge of the Sisters of Charity, who had already been there for more than three years, driving up daily from Mt. St. Vincent, their newly acquired property on the Hudson, some two miles distant. Sister Chrysostom and Sister Winifred were the true-hearted pioneers in this work. For his boys, Fr. Lynch secured the services of the Christian Brothers, accommodating them with living rooms on the third floor of the new building. Brother Clementine, with three assistants, assumed charge.

Rapidly succeeding the building of the schools followed the enlarging of the church. More land in the rear was secured, and transept, chancel and vestry added to the main building. The parish work had by this time so increased that Fr. Lynch was obliged to obtain an assistant. This he secured in the person of Rev. S. A. Mulledy.

In May, 1865, Fr. Lynch, who had been in consumption for more than a year, was called to his reward. His untimely death was mourned not only by his own people, among whom his memory is to this day held in the most loving reverence, but also by the citizens of Yonkers in general. His character and disposition must have been most attractive, for the elder members of old St. Mary's can rarely mention his name without the tribute of a tear. Would we had space to recount but a few of his golden deeds,—his kindness of heart, his truly Christ-like love for and sympathy with the poor, in whose dwellings he was so frequent a visitor, bringing not only help, sympathy and advice, but also with that rare and peculiar tactfulness often especially characteristic of holiness of life, skillfully drawing them out, discussing parish affairs with them, and asking their co-operation in all his plans, the

co-operation of heart-felt good will, if nothing else. It is not surprising that the memory of such a man is thus venerated.

Rev. Chas. T. Slevin succeeded to the pastorate in May, 1865. For two years, Fr. Slevin worked without an assistant, but in October, 1867, Rev. Albert A. Lings was sent to his aid. Fr. Slevin at first continued the school as he had found it. Later, in November, the boys' department under the Christian Brothers was temporarily discontinued. Fr. Slevin also added to the parochial residence, and beautified the church by the erection of an exquisite white marble altar and tabernacle, also by some fine paintings over the altar recess,—the one over the high altar being after Murillo's *Immaculate Conception*, by Angero.

In 1872, owing to wretched health, Fr. Slevin was obliged to go abroad for a few months, during which time his place was filled by Rev. Edward McKenna.

Fr. Slevin returned in October, and resumed parish work with the help of assistants, who were in turn Fathers J. Byron, E. McKenna, J. Hays and A. O'Reilly, the last still remaining first assistant to the present pastor the Rev. Chas. R. Corley. Fr. Slevin's health, however, again failed; and in June, 1877, Rev. Chas. R. Corley was made acting pastor, Fr. Slevin still holding the position nominally. In July, 1878, death closed the career of one who had ever been a faithful worker in the Master's Vineyard, and of later years a great sufferer.

One of Fr. Corley's first acts was the reopening of the boys' school, under charge of the Christian Brothers. It had been closed for want of funds; as owing to the protracted illness of the late pastor, the financial affairs of the parish were not in the most flourishing condition. The new pastor, young, burning with zeal, and immediately popular with the people, set to work with faith, vigor and will. His success was assured from the first. High ideals, singleness of aim, sincerity of purpose, self-sacrifice and

that unbounded love of souls so characteristic of the true apostle, were all united in the person of the present pastor. There was a long, long struggle, it is true; there were almost unnumbered obstacles, disappointments multiplied and multiplied, discouragements most disheartening—all the sure but trying signs of an ultimate success. It has already come. Rev. Chas. R. Corley, though yet but in the prime of life, has crowned his twenty years' pastorate by the erection of the most magnificent church in all Westchester County, and indeed one of the finest in the whole state.\* Under his administration also, the large new school-houses have been built, and other improvements added too numerous to mention. The schools, for both boys and girls, have already obtained a high degree of excellence, taking special prizes, etc., at the recent educational exhibit at the WORLD'S FAIR.

Fr. Corley's parishioners, who have so nobly seconded him in all his undertakings, have indeed good reason to feel proud of their church, their pastor, and themselves. The erection of such a house of worship has of itself given tone to Catholicity throughout the city now grown to the proportions of 40,000 inhabitants.

In the meantime, to digress a little, the tiny grain of mustard-seed dropped so long ago by good Fr. Cummisky, springing up into the young tree of St. Mary's, had been sending forth new shoots and branches, in other directions. The first shoot as happened most appropriately, found virgin soil in the very neighborhood where had been dropped the first seed on the bluff over the Nepperhan.

It was in 1871, while serving as assistant to Fr. Slevin, that the Rev. Albert A. Lings, (now Very Reverend Dean,) essayed with the approbation and consent of Most Rev. Archbishop McCloskey, to start a new parish in the

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\* The new church of the Immaculate Conception of the B. V. M., built on the same lot as the old one, (now used as a parish-hall,) was begun in 1890, its corner-stone having been laid in the month of May of that year, and opened to divine worship in November, 1892.



northern part of the village. At first, a room in Public School No. 6 was hired in which to celebrate Mass ; but in a couple of weeks, land was purchased at the corner of Ashburton and Oak Hill Avenues. On this, in September of the same year, was laid the corner stone of a brick building, forty-five by eighty-two feet, two stories high, with basement and attic. This was placed on the northern part of the property, and was designed ultimately for a school house, though temporarily fitted up as a church, with school rooms in the upper story. The first Mass was said in the new building, which had been dedicated to St. Joseph, on December 8th, feast of the Immaculate Conception, in 1871. It was finished in the following spring. The parish school was opened in the afore-mentioned rooms in September, 1872, under lay-teachers. Later in '81, the Sisters of Charity, under the kind and gentle Sister Stephen, were placed in charge, the Sisters being lodged in an adjoining house. In 1878, a parochial residence of brick was erected on a portion of the church property.

The infant parish grew rapidly ; indeed, in perhaps more phenomenal a manner than had done the parent from which it took its being ; so that in May, 1886, his Grace, Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, laid the corner-stone of the new church. The edifice, a large and beautiful Gothic structure, was completed and dedicated with impressive ceremonies in January, 1888.

On this occasion the evening sermon was delivered by Rev. J. J. Dougherty, who, in the course of his remarks, paid a glowing and well-merited tribute of praise to the pioneer pastor. The eloquent preacher's words found an echo in every heart, and it was generally conceded that the lively faith and simple piety so markedly characteristic of the people of St. Joseph's undoubtedly owe their origin and stimulus to that indefinable *something* in the personality of their pastor, which one instinctively associates with the idea of the *true priest*. It cannot be analysed ;



words can but poorly define it. But the poor and the lowly in especial, know its meaning and love its representative.

Soon after the opening of the new St. Joseph's, the Capuchin Fathers under Very Rev. Bonaventure Frey, O.M.Cap., sought Yonkers for the purpose of building a monastery of their order and also to found a parish in the still more northern extremity of the city. Their coming, as is invariably that of any religious order, proved a great and far-reaching blessing. The monastery was shortly erected; in 1891, a parish chapel, or small church, was opened, the congregation belonging to which is already large in numbers. A parochial school under charge of Sisters of St. Agnes has also since been opened.

Like the majority of monasteries of the Franciscan Order throughout the Old World, this "Monastery of the Sacred Heart" in the New, is built on the brow of a great hill commanding on all sides glorious and extensive views. The picturesque grey stone building set in the midst of its own gardens, among whose flowers and fruits and vegetables, among whose rustic shrines and quaint stone grottoes, one may discern here and there the forms of the good lay brothers, whose labors have made what was a wilderness to blossom like a rose, is a picture that carries with it at all times a peculiar fascination. Wandering that way of a summer evening,—say after the sun has gone down, but in the time of the after-glow—the wondrous after-glow,—when soft tints and tones, iridescent lights and shadows lend to all things a witching, albeit evanescent charm, this characteristic is especially marked. Up and down the plateau beneath the convent walls, walk two or three of the Fathers, conversing among themselves, or perhaps drinking in the beauty of the hour, the peaceful splendor of the scene, and silently communing with the God of Nature. One form, tall, straight, ascetically spare, with sandaled feet, coarse brown robe, silvery, flowing beard, and a countenance in which power, dignity

and benevolence by their shining forth seem but to mirror the beauty within, seems in his own person to carry one back in imagination to the ancient monasteries with their holy and learned monks, the faithful guardians of all true morality and religion, the preservers of everything noble and inspiring in art, science and literature.

Like to a bit of mediævalism dropped down in our hurrying midst, is this peaceful picture. Its mere contemplation transports one from the coldly rationalistic spirit of the outer world of to-day to those other ages when even grand intellects found "faith before reason, love before understanding, good life before words." To-day, in our "Terrace City," the Monastery on the hill-top is a Mecca for all the more devout in the whole Catholic population.

Besides the churches and parishes already named, three more have sprung into existence within the past four years. Of these, one is an orthodox Greek Catholic church, founded in 1892; another the Church of the Holy Trinity, whose congregation is mostly composed of the Slavonic people resident in the city; and last, but not by any means least, the new church of St. Peter, at Ludlow, eventually to become a school-house, but temporarily serving as a church. The corner-stone of this edifice was laid in September, in 1894, and the congregation which worships within its walls every Sunday is already large and growing rapidly. The genial pastor, Rev. Anthony Molloy, was for many years first (and, indeed, *only*) assistant to Rev. A. A. Lings in the extensive work of St. Joseph's. When assigned to the pastorate of Amenia, in Dutchess county, N. Y., in 1888, he carried with him the good wishes and keen regrets of thousands to whom he had greatly endeared himself. On his return to Yonkers, commissioned to found a new parish, he was accorded an eager welcome and found willing co-workers. The new church will soon, please God, upraise its stately walls and graceful steeples to Heaven's blue.

In this review of Catholicity in Yonkers, as represented





INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, COFFEE RUN, DEL.

by the churches, one has of necessity to pass by many just without the outskirts of the town, or in the neighboring towns and villages, springing although they all do from old St. Mary's. Riverdale, Mt. Vernon, Tuckahoe, Hastings, Dobb's Ferry and Tarrytown were all formerly attached to the little Yonker's mission; now each rejoices in one or more church or churches of its own. Of their early history and struggles other pens may tell.

In addition to her beautiful churches, schools, sodalities, etc., Catholicity in Yonkers is also represented by a large general hospital conducted by the Sisters of Charity, and placed under the patronage of St. Joseph. Here, the sick and poor, irrespective of race or creed, and regardless very often of money, receive medical attention and careful nursing. In the hospital there are some eight or ten private rooms, and a charming little chapel, in which the Holy Sacrifice is daily offered up by the well-known author, Rev. Reuben Parsons, D.D.

What a contrast between Catholic Yonkers of 1848, and Catholic Yonkers of to-day in 1896!

In '48, behold a mere handful of Catholics gathered together in a store-room, "sharing the space with boxes of log-wood awaiting shipment," ministered to by one humble, heroic priest; less than fifty years have passed,—the store-room has grown into *six churches*, the handful has become many thousands; the *one* priest has been succeeded by *twelve*,—six pastors and as many more assistants!

And yet, this is but one, (and in no way marvelous,) chapter in the brief but brilliant history of the Church in our land. What a field for the future historian!

And now to Catholic Yonkers in these latter days has come what our "Stranger Friend" so fittingly calls, "the crown of all her glory,"—that magnificent Diocesan Seminary so soon to be opened.



EXTRACTS FROM THE  
DIARY OF REV. PATRICK KENNY.

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FROM MARCH 25, 1805, TO NOVEMBER 11, 1813.

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EDITED BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

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[The extracts from the Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny, referred to by Joseph Willcox in his biographical notes on this missionary, have been taken from the original itself, a copy of which is in the hands of the Society. The Diary gives the reader a very fair view of the missionary labors and manner of living common to our clergy in the early years of the present century. It contains moreover records of many quaint and curious events, many jottings down of matters and things, which to-day would not be easily understood except with careful reading.

Its pages too will be found to be full of interest to the student, who has learned to delight in the memories of our old-time missions of Coffee Run (now for many years abandoned,) of West Chester, Wilmington, and the churches of St. Mary and Holy Trinity in Philadelphia.

Therein the reader will also note many an item of personal interest, and much even of historical value that will serve him in lighting up the general history of the Church in Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

It ought to be observed that only about one-third of the memoranda in the Diary—the only part that has seemed to have any distinctively general historical character, has been published.

No notice as a rule has been taken of the merely private and wholly domestic concerns of Father Kenny, of the “intentions” for which he offered up the Holy Sacrifice

of the Mass almost daily, of the records of household and personal expenses, and the like, all of which have been omitted in these excerpts.

Here and there has been introduced a bracketed note, wherever the sense seemed to require it. With this exception, and an occasional omission of what serves the historical purpose no longer, the memoranda have been given in their entirety.—THE EDITOR.]

## [DIARY OF REV. PATRICK KENNY.]

## 1805, MARCH.

25. Farm rented to Thos. Maguire, with exception of hay for one horse—2 acres & half of land for corn, & same for oats—at 58 Dolls.

## CASH PAID.

## 1805, APRIL.

Dol. C.

7. Went to Whiteclay Creek agreed with the Tenant Thos. Maguire at 21 £. 15 s. 0. to the 25th March next 1806 at half yearly payments. The Congreg. insures 8d per one Sunday p. month thro' the year.

8. To a Mare purchas'd from Col. Cleland of West Chester,

104 0 0

19. To four shoes on Do. by Williamson, Rocky Hill Goshen

22. Dinner at M<sup>t</sup> Gommery's Tavern

75 0

## MAY.

4. Gave Servant Goshen

1 0 0

11. Bt. of Mr. Edw. Jenkins Baltimore—a mouthing bit & half moon Do.

0 75 0

26. Going & returning from Londonderry Township, Jn. Dorat's,

0 50 0

## JUNE.

15. Towards redeeming the time of a slave	1	0	0
horse expense at Paul McGinn's 2 nights	1	0	0
[McGinn kept a tavern in Wilmington.]			
refresht. & 2 feeds to horse at Hickman's	0	25	
[Hickman kept a tavern in West Chester.]			
omitted 8th Sent by Mr. Dunphy to Rv. Mr.			
Ross [Rosseter, O.S.A. ?] for a hat	9	0	0

## JULY.

20. Provisions in Coffee Run—expenses on the roads for ten days between Goshen, Wilmington, Newcastle &c.—articles for Coffee Run	9	37	0
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## AUGUST.

13. pd. Squire Kenny's bill, Aug. 4,	2	52	0
18. provisions in Wilmn. for Coffee Run &c.	1	63	0
Do. Going to & returning from Coffee Run at Hickman's,	0	80	0
Do. To P. McGinn's servt.	0	25	0

## SEPTEMBER.

6. To one night at West Chr. & ten quarts of oats to Kate,	0	62½	
Do. Breakfast at Kennett's Square & 4 qts.			
Do. to Kate,	0	37½	
Do. at London Cross Roads 4 quarts O. & dinner (parted with Mr. Jenkins)	0	50	
7. agreed with Doctor Roberts for his chair & harness . . . . . D.100.			
9. Returning from Mr. Dorat's 4 quarts Oats & Breakfast & to boy ½ way,	0	25	0
Do. Red Lion, oats & whiskey to rub Kate's back	0	17	0

## DIARY OF REV. PATRICK KENNY.

97

Do. West Chester Oats & hostler	0 12½
18. To dinner & 4 quarts of oats for horse at Montgomery's,	0 50 0
20. 4 quarts Oats at Paul McGinn's on way to Newcastle	0 12½
Ferry at Wilmington [over Christiana Creek]	0 6 0
22. 6 quarts Oats at Hickman's—2 at Pierce's	0 26 0
24. To Tom Maguire for 80 bushels of lime	13 33 0
25. Postage of a letter from Rt. Rev. Doctr. Carroll	0 12½

## OCTOBER.

26. Gave Mr. Hearne for Doctr. Roberts amt. towards chair & harness,	40 0 0
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## NOVEMBER.

3. settled with Squire Kenny for Jefferies (and bill amt. \$6.00)	8 0 0
7. Journey to Coffee Run and Mons <sup>r</sup> . Dorat's & return—Loaf of sug. ½ lb. tea & spirits,	4 73
19. To Mr. Herne for Doctr. Roberts' acct. for chair	40 0 0
21. Journey to Newcastle Corn at Hickman's	0 12½
do. at Paul McGinn's, oysters,	0 25 0
25. To the ferryman whose arm was hurt a little by Kate starting,	12½
Off Pl. McGinn's acct.,	
Nov. 21. one night . . .	0 50 0
do. 22. one night . . .	0 50 0
do. 25. on my return & feed	0 12½

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 \$1 12½

26. To Mr. Hearn for Doctr. Roberts full out of chair & harness,	20 0 0
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## DECEMBER.

23. Provisions for the foregoing week at Coffee Run	0 75 0
To Lawyer Reed at New Castle, my part of fee to prevent a line of road to run thro' Coffee Run (succeeded),	1 0 0
24. Christmas box to 2 servants Goshen	2 0 0

## 1806, JANUARY.

14. My subscription for St. Augustine's Musick paid Mr. Hearn	7 0 0
17. Journey to Coffee Run, New Castle & home, feeds for Kate & provisions for a week,	2 18 0
Do. Share of taxes for Coffee Run to Robt. Montgomery	2 10 0

## MARCH.

10. Spirits for labrs. 1 Gall	0 75 0
22 & 23. 2 feeds to Jack going & returng. from NewC.	6 51 0
24. advanced for Jim's wages, whereof Mag. owes me half,	7
31. To Mr. Hearn for a bushel & peck of clover seed	8 75

## APRIL.

5. Pd. Mr. H. for 4 shoes & 4 removed for Kate as he settled with Williamson	1 20 0
6. Feed to Kate at Pierce's tavern	" 12 1/2
From April 9th 1805 to April 9th 1806	
Expended . . . . .	D519 1
Received . . . . .	480 38
	<hr/>
Ball <sup>oo</sup> against me . . . . .	038 63
13. present, & articles from Edwd. Jenkins,	5 37 1/2
articles bought of Rev. Mr. Pasquet	5 0 0



## MAY.

8. Journey out & home to & from Baltimore, Long Green & Bohemia, & to servt. Jenny's mother & Grand Mother at Bohem.	2 " "
8. Crackers, feed at buck tavern	35
servant at bohemia, refresh. self & Tom,	50 0
Dinner at Christiana for two & to servts.	1 25
Pl. McGinn's 1 night, breakf. & horse, Hick.,	" 89 "

## JUNE.

1. Do. to purch. 8 ewes & 8 lambs	20 27 "
Do. for Jim's wages to 6th of June, 14 D. 75 c. are to my acct. & 18D. 75 c. to Mag.	33 0 0
30. Rev. Mr. Schmidt to leave 3 letters in Coffee house, Phila.	" 6 "

## JULY.

8. 2. fore shoes on Kate in W. Ch. by David Beaumont	50 "
10. agreed with Ml. McEver for horse cart & geers	60
bridle & saddle, new—paid on the 2nd of Sept.	2 50
27. Exp. from 17th to 27th to Coffee Run, New Castle & Elk for copy of will	4 54

## AUGUST.

13. Postage of letter to Doctr. Carrol	25
24. Cash to Managers of New Castle Church being the subscriptions received by me of Messrs. Anthy. Hearn 10 dol. of Thos. Jenkins 5 do. & V. McMichael 3 Do.	18 " "

## OCTOBER.

6. a full set of shoes on Kate by Beaumont	1	" "
Gun, powder horn & shot pouch	8	50 "

## NOVEMBER.

9. flints, bullet mould, charger brass, mane comb	1	37 ½
20. Journey to New Castle, feed at Hickman's	12	½
Do. at Pl. McG. & 2 loaves	25	
ferry at Newport, over Christiana Creek,	4	
Ferry to Wilmington,	0	6 0
feed at Pl. McG's,	12	½
breakfast & feed for Kate at Hickm's	37	½

## DECEMBER.

22. Paid this year's taxes,	8	32
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## 1807 APL 9TH

" From 9th Ap<sup>l</sup> 1806 to 9th Ap<sup>l</sup> 1807

Expended . . . . . \$545.03 ½

Recv<sup>d</sup> . . . . . 413.98

Bal <sup>e</sup> against me	131.05 ½ "
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## JUNE.

29. 3 Gal. whisk. at raising barn & for carp. use beside	1	12 ½
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## JULY.

14. Carpenter's wages for making shingles and building barn,	29	17
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## NOVEMBER.

9. Cash to Mr. Hearn to pay Mr. Doran's bills,	20	" "
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## 1808, FEBRUARY.

18. Cash to Paul for Painter of Churchyd. gate	3 0 0
24. Dinner sup-room, breakf. & 3 feeds at Paul's	1 37½

## 1808 APL 21.

"From 9<sup>th</sup> April Tot<sup>l</sup> expenditure of 1807 to Ap<sup>l</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1808. which with 110 dollars for Tho<sup>s</sup> Maguire's Two horses, plough cart and geers—b<sup>t</sup> on 14<sup>th</sup> May—07—makes the whole am<sup>t</sup> in addition to 10 dol. to Maguire for grubbing a lot & 6 dol. to the price enterd of a new calv'd cow 18 Feb<sup>y</sup>—08. \$789—86

N. B. when J Sharkey's wages will be paid & board of labourers amounting in all to 40 dollars the net expenditure of this year will be

	\$829 86 <sup>c</sup>	Bills of this year not yet
R <sup>d</sup>	412 49½	furnished
Ball <sup>ce</sup>	417 36½	Smith's bill
		{ George Foote's I. corn 5—56
		{ J <sup>s</sup> Rice's vendue
		{ Sadler's
		{ Valentine's vendue 2—67

On revision I find that there is a double entry made of the cow and calf bought of Tho<sup>s</sup> Maguire 26 dollars—viz—Jan<sup>y</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> & Feb<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>."

## SEPTEMBER.

14. Cash to T. Sh. & Thos. Maguire going for my things to Goshen,	2 37½
18. 2 loaves & 1 quart whiskey folks going for my things to Gosh.	25 "

## OCTOBER.

20. postage of letter from Doctor Carrol,	12½
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## DECEMBER.

1. Settled my acct. with Pl. McGinn, by  
making over to him the price of 1 hogshead of  
cider delivered to Ml. Lavary, 8 47½

## 1809, APRIL.

25. Expend<sup>re</sup> from 21. Ap<sup>l</sup> 1808 to 25<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 09 \$530 66  
Rec<sup>d</sup> from 25<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 1808 to 16 Ap<sup>l</sup> 09 incl<sup>d</sup> 363 75½

Ball<sup>ce</sup> against me \$166 90½"

## JULY.

1. Journey to Wt. Chester & home, 47 98  
Feed at Paul's 12½  
Ferry Brandywine, dinner & feed at Jeff's 30 "  
2. Feed at Miller's Wt. Chr. Do. at Jeff's  
Ferry 27½  
Supper Room, horse at Paul's, 62 "  
Breakfast, at do., 25

## 1810, FEBRUARY.

27. 100 segars 25

## MAY.

10. Cash to Richd. Mahon for writing deed of  
Coffee Run 2 50  
18. Cash to Jn. Galr. on acct. of wages \$10. &  
\$2. travelling charges, taking the blind horse  
Bob to Mr. Hearn near Phila., Germantown, 12 " "

## JUNE.

6. Do. drawing deeds, ackn. & recording &c., 6 86  
8. Raisins & figs for Anthy., 12½

## JULY.

22. Do., for 50 segars, 12½

## AUGUST.

6. Do. 125 segars 0 26  
 Do. ¼ raisins for Anthy. 0 06  
 9. Cash to J<sup>s</sup> Griffin, store bill incl<sup>g</sup> 9 gal.  
 3 q<sup>ts</sup> harvest whiskey—& J. Nolan's two bills 19 25

## [CASH RECEIVED.]

## CASH ACCT.

1805, APRIL.

Dol. C.

9. In hands—of dollars, 73 25 0  
 28. 40 mile stone cong. at Arthur o'Neil's, 6 50 0  
 do. Bap. for Jn. Mullen near Downing's Town 1 0 0

## MAY.

5. Subscrip. in part of West Chester—one  
 quarter year's— 14 0 0  
 25. Londonderry Township, John Dorat's 5 0 0

## JUNE.

2. 2nd part of West Chester subscription 5 75 0  
 16. Coffee Run Ch. Sunday 1 Don. 3 Bap-  
 tisms, 11 25 0

## JULY.

7. 3rd part of this quarter's subscrip. of West  
 Chester 4 50 0  
 Do. 2 Bpms. 2 0 0  
 14. at Mr. Jn. Dorat's, 5 0 0



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do. 1 Bm.	50 0
28. Coffee Run, New Castle & bpm.	22 50 0

AUGUST.

5. 1st part of West Chester quarterly subscription,	18 0 0
do. 1 M. sl. of Eliz. McDonough,	0 50 0
18. Coffee Run subscription & one baptism,	9 0 0

SEPTEMBER.

1. West Chester Cong. 2nd part of last quarter's subscription,	3 25
8. Monsr. Dorat's Cong. & 2 bap.	7 0 0
22. at New Castle, 1 sick 1 mar.	12 0 0

OCTOBER.

6. 1 Bpm. W. Chester & 3rd part of last quarter's subs. 75c.	1 75 0
13. 1 Bp. & 3 attns. at Judge Willcox's,	11 0 0
20. Coffee Run subscrip. 4 B. 1 Mar. 1 Sick, omitted the 23rd, New Castle Congr. 8 dols.	17 50 0

NOVEMBER.

3. West Chester Cong.	18 75 0
10. Monsr. Dorat's Londonderry Cong.	5 0 0
17. Coffee Run subscript.	7 75 0
21. 2 Bap. French families, Wilmington	15 0 0
24. New Castle Congreg.	8 0 0

DECEMBER.

1. 2nd part of this quarter's subp. W. Chest.,	5 50 0
15. Coffee Run, subscription	7 75 0
22. New Castle subscrip.	8 0 0

## 1806, APRIL.

6. 3rd part of West Chester subscrip. on.  
acct., From Apl. 9th 1805 to Apl. 9th 1806, T. 1 50

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472 38

Expended, . . . . . D. 510 01

Recd. . . . . 472 38

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Balance against me . . . D. 46 63

13. Judge Wilcox's subs. half-year, 10 0 0

## MAY.

8. M. at Mr. Keating's, Wilmington, 3 0 0

## AUGUST.

24. Mr. Hearn's subscription towards building  
New Castle church 10 0 0

## OCTOBER.

27. Concord 1 bpm. 2 0 0  
Mr. Provenchere 3 " "  
Coffee Run, 6 65  
Elentherian Mills 5 " "  
New Castle, 6 25

## NOVEMBER.

2. West Chr. Con. 6 52½

## DECEMBER.

28. Bapm. Mr. Bauduy, 5 52½

## 1807, JANUARY.

11. Concord, 10 52½

## FEBRUARY.

21. Mr. Keat. 3 52½

## APRIL.

9. Settled from 9th Apl. 1806 to 9th Apl. 1807, \_\_\_\_\_

	D	413 98
Expended . . . . .	\$545	03½
Recd. . . . .	413	98

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Balance. against me . . .	\$131	05½
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## NOVEMBER.

15. West Chr. & Judge Willcox omitted, sick. Coffee Run. Cong. 1 Bpm.,	11	25
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## MAY.

20. Cash for 30 lbs. flax to Mrs. Wilcox	4	25
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Total rec'd. from Apl. 9th, 1807 to Apl. 17th, 1808,	\$374	67½
Omitted rec'd. of Thos. in work & sundry articles the amt. of his note of Apl. 20th 07,	31	36
Marketing of Apl. 2nd,	6	46

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Balance struck in expenditures Apl. 21, 1808.	\$412	49½
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## 1808, MAY.

5. Rd. of Rev. Mr. Rosseter, [O.S.A.] for three tickets, (Castle Lottery)—cash	12	00
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## DECEMBER.

7. 6 fat hogs to market brought	46	05
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## 1809, FEBRUARY.

6. Wt. Chr. Cong. no church storm so great  
 M. at A. H. 5 05  
 Trinity Church lottery ticket 2 55  
 19. Coffee Run cong. disappd. 3 of the toes  
 of my sore leg nearly chopped off

## MARCH.

5. Wt. Chester Cong. Do., by same accident  
 12. Concord disap., by do.

## APRIL.

2. W. Chester Cong <sub>16</sub>—1 bp<sup>m</sup> 1, 17 20  
 16. Coffee Run Cong 9 50

## MAY.

7. W. Ch<sup>r</sup> Cong 15 30  
 21. Coffee Run Cong 9 "

## AUGUST.

7. Priv. M. at Concord—Mr W. 10 "

[Until August 20th, 1810, the diary is merely a repetition of such items of receipts and payments as appear above.]

## 1811, JUNE.

23, Sunday. Trinity Church. 1st Mass de Novenâ;  
 2d Mass for the people.

30. Mass for the congregation. Rev. Mr. O'Brien has  
 already discharged 4 intentions for me I request of him to  
 say 8 more and begin to morrow.

## JULY.

6. West Chester stage \$1.25. Expenses on road .25c—nearly exhausted with heat.

7. West Chester congregation \$3.62½ cash paid.

8. Stage hire & expenses of return to Philadelphia \$2.56.

10. Squire Kenny purchased this day a tract of land in Cambria County 428 acres, \$701.

18. Received from Mr. Jas Oellers \$100. for one quarter's salary due July 8th ; also \$1. for a certificate.

19. Cash for place in the Wilmington Coachee Cook, \$1.50.

20. Started for Wilmington ; expenses .37½c. Reached Coffee Run about 5 P. M.

21, Sunday. Mass. Coffee Run congregation \$9. Baptised Margaret daughter of Barny Lynch.

22. Started from Coffee Run at 5 A. M. Stage hire and expenses \$2.00. Packed up mattress & bed ticks, 2 blankets, 50 yds of cotton & linen & 14 yds home made linen for shirts—pd .31c for bleaching the 14 yds ; had them put on board the Philadelphia packet.

23. Monsieur Ledent sent me a present of 6 bottles of Ale, 6 bottles of porter & 12 bottles of cider. I gave .50c to his porters.

24. Received this morning my things in good order from on board the Wilmington packet, Cap. Garrison, viz: 2 blankets, 14 yds shirting, 50 yards striped cotton & linen, 1 bed tick—1 mattress—2 under blankets, 1 rug quilt. Freight & portorage—.50c.

25. Mr. Brady obtained for me a first volume of Plowden's History of Ireland in lieu of the one that was stolen out of my parlour.

29. Capt. Cooper & Rev. Mr. Brosius.

30. Oh most oppressive heat. Mass for soul of Rev. Wm Elling.

31. More oppressive heat this day than yesterday.



## AUGUST.

3. Cash stage hire to West Chester \$1.25. Expenses .12½c.

5. Cash stage hire return \$1.25; expenses .12½c. As soon as I returned from West Chester obliged to go 13 miles to baptize a child of one Barny Sweeny six miles to the right of Darby & for nothing—.6c for a tumbler of lemonade. Cousin Sweeny shall be attended again—home at ½ past 10 at night.

18, Sunday. Coffee Run—baptism of twins \$1. Rec'd Huston's vendue account from J. Crosson \$13.25; gave Mr. Crosson \$5. subscription for his church repairs; excruciatingly warm.

19. Stage to Philadelphia \$1.50. Expenses .25c; high fever with heat of day—Rev. Mr. Erntzer; obliged to keep room.

20. Rev. Mr. Erntzer came on 17th.

21. Subscribed for Rt. Rev. Doctor Carroll's bust in plaister of Paris, gilt frame and glazed, \$3.00, when delivered; executed by Geo. Andrews of City of Dublin, now residing in the City of Washington.

24. Rev. Mr. O'Brien set out for Baltimore. Rev. Mr. Brosius sold out at Mt. Airy & and came to Town yesterday.

27. Mr. Fitzsimmons' funeral. [This was Thomas Fitz Simons, Pennsylvania's Catholic Signer of the Constitution of the United States.]

30. Rev. Mr. Kohlmann arrived last night from Bordeaux.

31. Coach hire to West Chester \$1.25, every day stage instead of every other day; expenses .25c; smothered with heat.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. West Chester congregation \$4.50.

2. Mass at Squire Kenny's for the husband of Marie Louise traveling; stage hire to Philadelphia \$1.25; ex-

penses .25c ;—reduced to fainting with heat ; 3 funerals at my return.

3. Out at Camptown at 5 in morning.

4. Rev. Mr. Kohlmann started for New York by steam.

13. Cash stage hire to Coffee Run \$1.50 ; expenses .12½c.

14. Sunday. Coffee Run \$11.21 ; 1 baptism \$1.00.

15. Cash stage hire return \$1.50 ; no expenses.

22. Sunday. Rev. Mr. Rantzau preached in Trinity Church.

23. Rev. Mr. Rantzau set out for Baltimore.

26. Start for John Dorat's, Londonderry Township, Chester County ; stage to Wilmington \$1.50 ;—stopped this evening at Rev. Mr. Brosius'.

27. To Coffee Run.

28. Arrived at Mr. Dorat's ; cash paid for making of a night shirt \$1.56.

29. Londonderry ; congregation at Mr. Dorat's, \$8 ; at Coffee Run in the evening.

30. Started for Wilmington ;—in Philadelphia at 1 P. M.

# OCTOBER.

1. Paid Mr. Dorat's \$100. to the persons he requested ; have their receipts.

3. Bought of Math. Carey, 2 doz. Vade Mecums—Bossuet's Exposition ; England's Conversion & Reformation compared, &c., \$8.50 ; start for Praet farm—100c—hired horses & man .75c.

4. To go to Mr. Willcox's, 125c.

5. Mr. Willcox's family \$5. ; set out for West Chester ; Letter and writing paper from Messrs. Jos & John Willcox—John Willcox made me also a present of an Irish hazel walking stick.

6. West Chester cong. \$5.00.

7. Stage hire to Philada 125c.

8. Had this Day a visit from Seven Indian Chiefs—of

the Machimacinac tribe—one of them had two small plates of silver hanging from the cartilage of the nose—all were straight, able bodied men, painted with red strakes awkwardly daubed had blankets, callico gowns—& 2 had Surtouts—all had feathers fasten'd in their long black hair—they were of strong masculine features—one only was of a neat light turn of body—one had a circle, of silver detach'd pieces, round the breast & 2 plates of silver on the arms. I shook hands with them all. Shew'd them Trinity church—they behaved in no manner like savages—the oldest was a venerable 75 or 78 years old man—exhibiting no mark of infirmity—wrinkles deep furrow'd betray'd his years otherwise he'd pass for young—all had maukesoms—we parted—Crowds fill'd the streets.

9. Cash paid to Mr. Andrews for Rt. Rev. Doctor Carroll's bust in Plaister of Paris \$3.00.

16. Cash to Mr. Brady for Ossian 150. Wine, brandy Gin. Whiskey—porter, cheese & Segars from Mr Premir—St. Aug's family all dined here.

17. Sent \$25.00 to Mr Brosius by Cooke's stage.

19. Stage hire to Wilmington 150; articles to Mr Brosius \$1. gave him Mr Edd Carroll's \$60; to ostler at Taylor's 6c for a pair of stirrup leathers, reached Coffee Run in evg.

20, Sunday. Coffee Run cong. \$6.50; Received for books \$4.61.

21. Stage hire to Philadelphia \$1.50.

22. Rev. Mr. Mc Girr; 1 bush. of turnips 40c—lost by servant's choosing them bad.

24. Lend \$15. to M. F. Charlot to buy a stove; received an elegant present of a surplice from Mrs. Carty.

26. R. Mr. Ernser. [Erntzen.]

27, Sunday. Rev. Mr. Erntzen preached.

28. Rev. Mr. Mc. Girr discharged 1 int. for souls of the faithful departed.

30. Rev. Terence Mc Girr starts to morrow for Cambria County.

## NOVEMBER.

2. Stage hire to Wt Chester 125c; 6c crackers.
  3. Sunday. Wt Chester cong. \$3.62½c.
  4. Stage hire return to Philadelphia 125c; 6c crackers.
  5. Rev. Mr. Rantzau—a pair of store rough shoes 125c.
- Rev. Mr. Pasquet.
16. Stage hire to Wilmington 150c; R. M. Gallitzin & R. M. Helbron & Mrs. Lavigne; Rev. Mr. Gal. & R. Mr. Helbron disappointed.
  17. Sunday. Coffee Run cong. \$9; 2 baptisms \$2; Came to Wilmington at Wm. Larkin's.
  18. Priv. bapt. to Wm. Larkin's child Mary; Stage hire \$1.50; crackers 6; segars 12½. Bishop came to inform me of Rev. Mr. Rantzau's appointment to Trinity Church.
  20. wrote to Rev. Mr. Rantzau on his appt.
  25. a new pair of strong shoes—old ones full soal'd & heel'd \$3.00.
  27. All ye clergy & Rev. Messrs. Helbron & Gallitzin at dinner.
  28. one letter from Mr. Rantzau who'll be here in latter end of next week.
  30. Disappointed going to West Chester, by heavy rain.

## DECEMBER.

1. Sunday. Rev. Mr. Carr [O.S.A.] preached.
3. Laid in 6 cords of best oak for Rev. Mr. Rantzau, all expenses paid \$49.30; additional for difficulty of piling 20—\$49.50.
7. Rev. Mr. Rantzau arrived.
12. Rev. Mr. Brosius visits; removed to Town.
13. Stage to Wilmington.
14. Disappointed of going to Coffee Run by 1st. snow of this year; until the night of this morning, the finest possible weather—rather summer like.
25. Christmas Day. Last night, yesterday & this day as bitter weather as can blow. Snow.



CHURCH OF ST. MARY, COFFEE RUN, DEL.

Built A.D. 1790—Rebuilt A.D. 1850. View from the Cemetery.





27. R. Mr. Rn. phillipicked as sole Pas. Rec. & Prer of T. Ch.

31. Deo optimo maximo gratias pro omnibus tam adversis quam faventibus hujusce anni rebus impendo.

## 1812, JANUARY.

3. Rt. Rev. Dr. Egan.

4. Rz. orlando furioso.

5. West Chester stage 125; Cong. \$6.23.

6. Mass at Squire Kenny's; return'd to Philadelphia; Stage 125c.

7. Receiv'd a letter from Rt. Rev. Doctor Carroll—14½c.

8. Letter from Rev. Mr. Babade 14½c.

12, Sunday. Finest weather known.

14. Settled all accounts from 7th Decr. Mr. R. arrival to Jan. 8th were as follows:

All house exps . . .	\$46.90	whereof M. R.
bears half . . . . .	23.45	

Returns by me . . . .	17.00
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by Mr. R. . . . .	4.75
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21.75—half \$10.87½

17. Set out for Wilmington; walked from Chester to Wade's near Judge Willcox—5—nearly lost—Snow hard frost.

18. Concord—Went to Wilm. check & oats and glass to Mr. Wilcox's black boy who takes home horses, 37½; Started from Wilmington for Coffee Run—reached Coffee Run just before a dreadful night of snow.

19, Sunday. \$2.25; Started after breakfast in a sleigh for Wilmington.

20. Breakfast at Paul's; at Chester 12½; the bitterest weather possible. Thos Maguire haul'd on 18th the 1st load of timber for house; he received Charles Tees vendue

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money—1 bap. Ml. Fitzpk's child 1 Dlr; 50 cts for a seat in sleigh to Wilmington.

FEBRUARY.

1. Stage to Wt. Chester 125 ; crackers 6c.
2. W. Chester, \$4.07 [collected].
3. Stage & crackers 131c.
7. Received from Js. O'llers half year's salary due 8th. Jan. 1812, \$200.
8. Engaged Josephine a French black woman for servt at 125c. p. week to commence on Wed. 12th. inst.
10. Mass for soul of Jos. Cauffman.
12. Ash Wednesday. Cash to Mr. O'llers for a plate in looking glass \$1.50.
15. Stage hire to Wilmington 125 ; oats 2 horses 25c ; reach'd Coffee Run about 6 p. m.
16. Sunday. Horrid weather.
17. Window sashes, frames &c. for Coffee Run house ; logs to saw mill weather-bound.
18. This evg at Paul Mc Ginn's.
19. Breakfast & room at Paul's paid for 75c ; 6c to boy for a message.—Stage hire to Philadelphia 125c ; arrd about 3 p. m.
20. Gave all the letters from my poor people of Coffee Run to Mr. Mc Guigan Coffee house.
22. Very hard weather.
25. Mary Ae. Fisher made me a present of an elegt Thermometer.
26. All the letters that I brought from Coffee Run people, were convey'd, on yesterday 25. by a skin for Gal way.
29. Stage to W. Chester 125.

MARCH.

- 1, Sunday. M[ass] W. Chester \$2.87½ subs.
2. Stage hire to Philadelphia 125 ; crackers going and-coming 12½c.

4. On this day begin the providing my own Breakfast & Supper stuffs.

5. Rev. Mr. Baxter of Lancaster.

6. Settled all accts. of housekeeping amounting to for the month \$29.55

my half whereof . . . . . 14.77½

cas. my half . . . . . 4.25

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exp. excd. cas. . . . . \$10.52½.

11. This day begin providing for myself in toto.

14. Stage hire to Wilmington 150; take out M. Hughes to spin; Rev. Mr. Harold pay'd \$2.00 for pcss; take out 2 terrier dogs—for Coffee Run.

15. Coffee Run \$6.75.

16. Started from Coffee Run before 6 a. m.;—stage hire 150; expenses on road—this day & Saturday at Paul's dinner 50c.

19. Nearly exhausted.

21. Mass Anniversary for soul of Eliza Willcox; gave 1 Dlr. to an object ordd. by Mr. Willcox,—have four more to distribute. Quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.

23. 37½c. to an object of chy. out of Mrs. Willcox's money. My subscription to St. Joseph's Orphan Society for this year from March 1812 to March 1813 \$3.00; have receipt from Js Oellers Treasr.

26. H. Thursday. Consecration of H. oils at St. Mary's, ½ past 7 a. m.

29, Easter Sunday. Preached.

31. Trinity Lottery suit. Dallas.

#### APRIL:

2. Stage hire to Wt. Chester 125c; Lottery suit on yet—Raule—Lawyer Ingersol to conclude.

4. Set out for West Chester—Crackers 6c.

5, Sunday. West Chester \$3.97 ½.

6. Stage hire to Philadelphia, 125 ; Lottery suit of T. Church commissioners—verdict against them.

10. Leg very bad.

11. Leg very very bad.

12, Sunday. Flaxseed flour for poultice for leg—bad indeed—Rantzau never proposed relieving me this day in any one iota of duty.

15. Sent yesterday a letter to Thos. with 1. cabbage seed—& notice that I'd send notice by Saturday's Stage to Wilmington whether I could travel or not.

16. Mr. Mongez came to see my leg last night—bad news—God's will be done may his grace prepare me for that fate that all my best friends have already shared.

17. Leg & whole body very ill—began taking Mr. Mongez's prescriptions.

18. So ill could not say Mass—made bed room of parlour.

19, Sunday. Deplorably ill. Mr. Brosius said Mass. Mr. Mongez.

20. Very ill.

21. Excessively ill.

22. Very sick indeed—Rev. Messrs. Ryan & Lenargan call'd yesterday.

23. Mass by Rev. Mr. Babade.

25. Mass by French clergy of Baltimore.

26, Sunday. Rev. Mr. Babade preached in French & Rev. Mr. Joubert sung high Mass & Vespers. My turn this week to say 1st. Mass but am right down sick.

27. Rev. Fr. Clergy say Mass.

28. Rev. Mr. Babade had high Mass for soul of Mr. Emery. Very sick indeed.

29. Leg healed—inflamn. decreasing—but a very soso night—Mouth very very bad.

30. Mass Mr. Babade ; Mr. Mongez no prescription as I am as bad as he wishes me to be.



## MAY.

1. Rev. P. Babade Joubert &c—gone—the most forbidding day & night possible.
2. Deplorably ill—incessant pain night & day—Mr. Mongez wont allow of any alleviation.
- 3, Sunday. Immensely ill, Tongue, mouth all blister'd—teeth loose agony every inst. Rantzau never ask'd this day how it goes with me.
4. In statu quo—rain, hail & snow all day.
5. Very bad.
6. Had a good night when compared with all preceeding nights from April 16.
- 7, Ascension Thursday. Rather on the recovery.
8. Mending.
9. Improving—Cash received from Doct. Egan \$2 yesterday. Mr. Mongez dress'd leg & has strong hopes of a radical cure from the present appearances.
- 10, Sunday. Rev. Mr. Byrne preached—gave out vespers & attended a funeral for me.
11. Mass by Rev. Mr. Brosius. Statement to Rt. Rev. Doctr. Egan. Charity to an object recommended by Rev. Mr. Carr. A dirge bespoken by Anne Michel for the repose of the soul of Jean Jaques her husband—for Monday 25 inst. at 10.
12. Mass by Rev. Mr. Brosius. Doctor Mongez attended. Rev. Paul McQuade.
14. Rev. Paul McQuade goes out to morrow for me to Coffee Run.
15. Damp morning could not venture out. Mr. Mongez this evening finds my leg immensely better—orders mercury & hemlock pills—begin taking one this night. Rain constant & high wind.
16. Night of rain and high wind.
- 17, Whit Sunday. Rantzau dismiss'd Trinity Church yesterday.
18. Rantzau play'd Dandy at election of Trustees.

19. Scandalous behaviour of Rantzau yesterday at election for Trustees—he headed a party & proclaimed that no pew holder but a German should vote—this throws the last firebrand in the congregation.

21. Rantzau's business settled.

22. I am to celebrate Mass on the 22d of every month for Mrs. Willcox's intention by order of Miss Nancy Cauffman.

26. Mass Mrs. Willcox's intention. Went out for first time since my confinement—too much fatigued after walk.

27. Rev. Mr. Miquel Missionaire arrivé de France.

28. Corpus Christi. Gave out Vespers—astonishingly fatigued—rather sick—obliged to take bed. Memor. Blacks gave their wax tapers of this day's procession for use of Wt. Chester & Coffee Run.

29. Hir'd a chair from Mr. Fitzgerald—took a short airing.

31. The big bubble meeting of Dutch law breakers who would not permit the French, Italians, Spanish, Irish, English, Americans, &c. to vote at election for Trustees, evaporated in air—nothing will satisfy the insulted people, but the enforcing of the act of Assembly.

# JUNE.

1. Immensely warm.

2. Masons began work at Coffee Run yesterday.

4. A meeting of the dutch intruding Trustees held in Rantzau's room, & the others at Oellers.

6. Set out for West Chester—nearly done over with the heat.

7. Wt. Chester Cong. \$7.70—ten children bapd \$2.50.

8. Started from West Chester—fairly sick with immense heat & 17 in stage—gust, thunder & rain at 8 p. m.

15. I calculate that expense of articles of medicine & expenses of hiring a person in my sickness amount to \$25.00.

18. Letter to Dr. Carroll by Rev. Mr. Ryan.

19. [Father] Vincent Trappist. Rev. Mr. Byrne of St.

Augs to Lancaster. I start for Wilmington to Coffee Run at 2 p. m. Bread & milk at Paul's & room.

20. Paul let me have his horse and sulky—got to Coffee Run 7 a. m.—house-walls nearly up.

21, Sunday. Coffee Run cong. 10.

22. Started from Coffee Run 4 in the morning. Stage to Phila—arrived  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 a. m. 6c. crackers—most astonishingly fatigued.

23. Arthur O'Neill's funeral.

24. Rev. Mr. Miquel arrived from Baltimore.

26. Rantzau thought to Rector, Hector, Preside & Master this morning—but was sorely disappointed.

28, Sunday. Rev. Mr. Brosius celebrated Mass for deceased Jean Jaques. After Vespers the greatest public scandal that could be given by Rantzau & his party Hookey, Gibson, Fricker, &c. & the Sexton. Miquel a right good match with Rantzau &c.—they prevented a frenchman's child from being inter'd—fill'd up the grave—& parties stripped to fight—the man had his child buried elsewhere.

29. Postage from Baltimore 52  $\frac{1}{2}$ c.—a bundle of nonsense.

30. Intelligence of the British Frigate Belvidere taken.

### JULY.

3. Mikel bound to peace.

4. Set out for West Chester—almost dead with heat—21 passengers in stage.

5, Sunday. West Chester \$3.00.

6. Return'd—125.—stage 25c. expended—out & home.

7. Degree of heat in shade 79.

8. Milk & bread for my Saturday's breakfast 12  $\frac{1}{2}$ c.

9. By Mlle Lamarniere have learn'd this day that the Dutch declared to the Bishop that they would neither pay him his yearly stipend as bishop, nor pay me my salary.

11. Most insolent note from Rantzau.

12. Things as usual—Rev. Mr. Cibour arriv'd in Philadelphia yesterday from New Orleans.

14. Learn'd, if true, what pleases me right well.—return'd 15 Dls restitution money to Christopher Fredericks, white horse market St.

15. Pere Vincent de paul Trappist set out yesterday accompanied by 2 novices for Wayne Co. along the Delaware River—Oellers subpoena'd Springer, Rantzau &c.

16. Oellers treated me very ill, by letting Lawyer Dallas put my name amongst those of his plaintiffs in his subpoena without having consulted me thereon—Jos Bastian told Rantzau what money he had given me, & whether I had tamper'd or juggled under hand to prevent money being given on yesterday evening.

17. Stage to Wilmington 150. 6c. expenses travelling—reach'd Coffee Run at  $\frac{1}{4}$  p. 9 p. m.

18. House poorly advd—Masons revolted about 4 July—everything slovenly as usual with Thos. Cattle quite poor.

19. Coffee Run cong. \$12.69.

20. Started from Coffee Run at 4 a. m.—nearly choaked with heat—arrived in Trin. at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 12.

#### MEMORANDUM

relating to the House at Coffee Run.

Simmon's bill, planks &c. . . . .	150
Ledgy Beals Do. . . . .	10
Lime . . . . .	60
Bricks . . . . .	20
1 box & half of glass . . . . .	22
sawyer's bill . . . . .	15
nails . . . . .	10
Painting, window irons & others . . . . .	40
Carpenter's bill & board . . . . .	200
Mason's Do. & attendants & board . . . . .	300
Plaistering & laths & nails . . . . .	10
Locks, bolts &c . . . . .	10
Close estimate . . . . .	\$847

Thos. Maguire Debtor to me . . . . .	665
by cash on 15th March . . . . .	001
by Do. on the 19th. July . . . . .	002
by Do. on 20th. Do. in Wilm . . . . .	008
by Do. Last years int. on £174 . . . . .	028

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\$704

Credit to Thos by book . . . . . 60

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Bal. \$644

Frans Doras Debtor to me . . . . . 56-50½

21. Mrs. Whelan apprised me this day of Capt. Whelan her husband being wash'd overboard from ship Benj. Franklin—requiescat in pace—Amen.

22. Rantzau started this morning for New York.

23. Mr. Thos. Magrane of the Rath, Mr. Patk. Langan's nephew call'd on me this morning. Rantzau dismissed the Diocese—notice thereof given this morning to Sq. Hookey & Premir—Te deum Laudamus.

24. A Portuguese Priest, landed here last night.

25. Mass in thanksgiving for escape from the conflagration of Richmond Theatre.

26. Sunday. Dutch chop fallen.

29. 1 Dlr. for Coach to go anoint old Mrs. Snyder out 3d St. Rev. Mr. Pasquet went off for Bohemia. Erntzer yesterday.

30. Rantzau return'd from New York on his forced way somewhere else. Rev. Mr. Carr & my old friend Mr. Thos. Magrane & his 2 little sons Thos. & James din'd with me this day.

#### AUGUST.

1. Settled all casualties with Rantzau each \$23-75 of \$47-50—total: whereof he brought in \$6.00—Bishop Egan's letter of dismissal & his superior's letter of recall were sent to him on 23 July—Bishop Egan insisted on my



sharing casualties with him Rantz. after his dismissal—Poor Mollshy thro' out since Jan. 1811 that he call'd me to Trinity church from Coffee Run. The fear of the Jesuits has made him sacrifice me without remorse in mind, body, & purse since the first day I came amongst the Dutch.—anyone but a &c.

2, Sunday. Mass at Trinity. Rev. Mr. Rolloff arrived from Conewago to supersede Rantzau who assured Bishop Egan that he'd be off this morning—but quite the reverse, he remain'd, had levee and one of his Trustee squad Gibson came to order me not to preach as the Dutch were *determined* to *drag* me out of the Pulpit—From this insolence join'd with their supplique to Bishop Egan—I have done with the Dutch of Trinity Church.

3. Rantzau turned off from Trinity Church & started at 10 o'clock.

6-7. On the 6th. inst. Anthy Hookey accompanied by George Gibson the pulpit tumbling messenger paid me 1 quarter's salary & 1 month's to the 2d. of August, or rather 3d when I sent my letter of resignation to Bishop Egan—142 including my expenses of coming to Trin. ch & 3 weeks expenses by Rev. Mr. Britt refusing to keep his engagement with the Bishop.

8. Articles bought for Coffee Run :

A bureau . . . . .	\$30.00
6 chairs . . . . .	5.70
a Looking glas . . . . .	6.00
portorage . . . . .	17½=41.87½.

I tendered on the 6th. inst. to Mr. Ashley, the two hundd. Dls. he had given & on this day 8 Dls. & 25c. to Rev. Mr. Harold, part of money received from Rantzau.

10. Begin preparing for Coffee Run.

11. Packing up.

15. Assumption—Set out for Coffee Run; stage 150; expenses 12½.

16, Sunday. Coffee Run—12—1 bap.

17. House almost Roofed—Wilmington.
18. Set off from Paul's—clear'd him off 1 Dolr.
21. Paid all expenses of 19 & 20th at Paul's—\$2.00—reached Concord.
22. Mass at Concord intention of Mrs. Willcox.
- 23, Sunday. Mass at Concord.
24. Set out for Coffee Run—gave Mr. Willcox 20 dolls. —he is to add 10—of his own to buy glass for Coffee Run buildings—reach'd Coffee Run in Evening—things reach'd remarkably safe—nothing injured.
25. Jn. Walker preparing the floor.
26. Jn. Walker preparing for flooring.
27. Most dreadful rain.
28. Cash for nails for flooring \$3.85c. St. Mary's Pew holders address received. Jn. Walker preparing to floor. —I start this day for Dorat's—arrived at Mr. Dorat's at ½ p. 3 p. m.
29. at Mr. Dorat's.
30. Londonderry Township Cong. 8.00.
31. Mass intention of Mde. Durand in hon. Si. Ant. de Pad.—reached about 10 a. m. not a soul at work at the house. Thos & Liz'y gadding at New London cross roads.

## SEPTEMBER.

2. J. Walker at work—nails &c. \$1. 13 ½.
3. Isaac 6 hours gone to Wilm. for 5lbs. of nails—50c.
4. Gust before day—heavy rain all day.
5. John & Robt. Walker & boys at house—Start for Wt. Chester—arrive at ½ p. one.
- 6, Sunday. Wt. Chr. Cong—14 int—4 col—nothing last month.
7. Carpenters at work.
8. Call'd to Gilbert Hand 12 miles off—Jn. Walker alone.
9. Went to Gilbert Hand—dead before I reach'd there—feed and dinner at Paul's—home about 7 p. m.

10. J. & R. Walker—Jn. Murray building about cellar windows.

11. Jn. Murray begins pointing at long last.

14. Wrote to Rev. Mr. Carr [O.S.A.]

15. Hundred election—no evening work.

16. Jn. Walker went to draw home hay about 4 in evg—partition up—Jn. Murray pointing.

20. Mass at Coffee Run.

21. Started from Coffee Run for Philia with Dedé. packet—obliged to walk from Gloster point to Philia—fell in street tripp'd by a curbstone—hurt.

22. Mass in thanksgiving for myself, not killed by the tremendous fall of yesty. evg.

25. Bt paints & putty for house.

26. Started from Philia for Coffee Run by packet—day & night on water.

27. Got Ml. Downy's horse & chair—took all my things home.—in house at 7.

29. Dl. Fagan Nr. 40 New St. Philia. house painter & glazier came from Philia. to paint & glaze my house.

30. Dl. Fagan began painting house this morning.

#### OCTOBER.

2. Doors finish'd yesterday—glazing, plaistering turning hearths—finest weather possible.

3. Started for Wt. Chester—swamp'd with rain half the road.

4. Sunday. Wt. Chest cong 325—return'd to Coffee Run this evg. to keep glazier.

5. Painter giving 2d. coat—glazing finish'd—5 broken lights in the 2 boxes of glass Jn. Murray plaistering.

6. Election. Jn. Murray finish'd 1st. coat of plaistering, set hearths—had 2000 laths from Wilmington--Dl. Fagan finish'd glazing & paintg—nearly—put up sashes—to be completely finish'd when garret floor & plaistering will Laid & done.

7. 1st Mass for confraternity of the Rosary—Jn. lathing

Kitchen—Dl. Fagan finishing the outside—Lizy ill—Cash paid Dl. Fagan for painting the new house 3 coats to the outside leaving the finish of inside until carp. & plaisterer have done & his expenses up & down \$8.50.

8. Mass 5 wounds of J C—the painter starts for Philia—Cash paid him 850.

9. Started for Concord.

10. Mass in Concord in honor of the Virgin.

11. Sunday Mass Mr. Willcox's fam.—1 bpm. 50.

12. 3c. my first toll on turnpike road.

16. John Murray pointing and bad pointing too.

17. John Walker hung the front & back doors—Takes another week's absence—1 dlr. to Jn. Walker.

18. Coffee Run—19—82 ½.

19. Went to powder mills—2 private bapms. 2 Ds: B[onn]y Lass stumbled on a loose stone—cut her knees—no further accident.

21. Went to Wilmington.

23. 1st. Snow & heavy rain storm—Cleaning & repairing windows &c., etc.—a dirty job to repair & clean after 2 years filth of Thos. Maguire.

24. Start for Mr. Dorat's—there at 2 p. m.—news of Mrs. Corry's death.

25. Sunday. Londonderry Township & congregation 7.25—bought things of Mr. Dorat' to amount 269c—return'd this evening.

26. Jn. Walker return'd to work, had broke off Oct. 2d.

27. Went to Wilmington—could get no ground plaister of Paris.

28. Heavy rain all last night & this day.

31. Started for Wt. Chester.

#### NOVEMBER.

1. Wt. Chester 375—return'd to Coffee Run about 7 p.m.

2. Mass All Souls—not a soul of carps. at work—Jn. Mur. plaistering Kitchen—primed spout—Bonny Lass nearly kill'd by a stroke of a cow's horn—ripped from be-

tween her forelegs up her breast, 7 or 8 inches long and deep. [Written on the margin is this account of Bonny Lass' injury: "This was done by Isaac Maguire and not by a cow—discover'd afterwds."]

3. Started for Philia.

6. Office at St. Mary's for repose of soul of Rev. Jn. Rosseter, [O.S.A.]

7. Rain—return'd to Coffee Run.

8. Sunday Mass for soul of Jn. Rosseter.

12. Jn. Murray pointing, painting, mixing lime for last coat of plaistering Lower Rooms.

14. Jn. Murray plaistering—answers well at last.

15, Sunday. Coffee Run 12.75. Mr. Keating obligingly undertakes my business with Fougeray & saves me a journey to Philia.

16. Jn Walker here—Jn. Murray plaist.—Bonny Lass mending.

17. Mass for soul of Rev. Mr. Colle. Called off to Js. Fox's daughter in night.

18. In Wilmington. Returned before 10 a. m.

21. Thos. finish'd putting in his wheat—he is one of the 11th hour men.

22. Bonny Lass mending slowly.

24. Dreadful storm last night.

25. Jn. this day taking down scaffolding—hard frost.

30. Cash lent Thos. for medicine for Lizy—50c—I painted window shutters.

#### DECEMBER.

5. Started for Wt. Chester.

6. Sunday Wt. Chr. 275—piercing cold.

7. Went to Philia. for Church stove &c.

8. Return'd to Wt. Chester where I had left my horse at livery from Saturday to Wednesday.

13. Concord—5—fine weather—very cold.

14. Home.

16. As fine a day as any in summer.



- 17. Finest weather imaginable.
- 20. Sunday Coffee Run 5.69½.
- 24. Bless'd New house & Midnight Mass.
- 25. Christmas Day. Mass at Coffee Run at 11 a. m. Collection by way of offering—first attempt of the kind \$5.98½.
- 26. Started for J. Dorat's.
- 27. Sunday. Londonderry 5.50. return'd home this evg.
- 30. As fine weather as the most beautiful summer season—dust & mild. Rev. M. P. [name illegible.]
- 31. My soul returns thanks to the Almighty God for the prosperous & for what I may have thought unfavorable events of this year. Summer-weather.

## 1813, JANUARY.

- 2. Very heavy rain—put up bookcase & bed in New house.
- 3. Mass at Coffee Run cong.—787½. M. Charlot started for Philia.
- 4. Storm last night furious.
- 5. Blows & freezes like big guns.
- 6. Tried chimnies in new house draw well—freezes tight but very fine over head.
- 7. Beautiful weather.
- 8. Snow'd & blew a hurricane this eveng. Thos. Maguire draws the first load of lime stone ever brought to Coffee Run to be there burnt.
- 9. This morning every thing frozen in the house—bitter cold all morning—sorely afflicted last night with pains in back & across the breast.
- 11. Suffer immensely by a pain in left side that moves to the back & across the breast.
- 13. Pain in the back subsiding. Robt. Walker's wife died last night.
- 16. Snow storm—by roads not open, pain in back—not able to go to Wt. Chester.
- 19. Rain, floods.

20. Froz—frightfully—all ice—everywhere.

21. Tho's. heifer calved last night 2 calves both frozen to death.

25. Call'd to visit Jn. Lamb 10 miles from Coffee Run. Nil. home at  $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9. had like to be run down by three waggons in the dark—fine over head—roads abominable.

28. Snow'd.

29. Snow 15 inches deep.

31. Bpd. child of Dennis McCready—3 sleighs Deep snow.

### FEBRUARY.

3. Jn. Walker clear'd out yesterday—settled his bill—

Inside work including roof . . .	\$175.00
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& 175 days board . . . . .	43.75
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\$218.75

10. Thos. & Lisy went to Wilmington in my chair.

12. Dreadful winter day.

13. Rain'd most part of last night & froze frightfully hard this morning storm continues—gave up my journey to Concord—about 9 a. m. a messenger came with word from Nelly Nolan that she was dying—started for Londonderry Township, was obliged to put back day too hard—distance 17 miles.

14, Sunday. Started again for Nelly Nolan's—Thos came with me—arrived there about 5 p. m. went to Jn. Dorat's.

15. Came home—have been laid up since with cold caught on journey.

16. Very ill with swell'd throat & Jaw.

17. Cold by far worse.

18. Could not celebrate Mass—swell'd to a degree indeed.

20. The 2d bitterest day of winter—could not go to Wt. Chr.—sick besides storm.

- 24. Letter from Bishop Egan.
- 25. Called to Js. Sharkey 4 miles off. 9 at night—swell'd throat & Jaw.
- 26. Went to Js. Sharkey—adm. him.
- 28, Sunday. Set out for Philia—Wilm this night.

## MARCH.

- 7. At St Mary's.
- 17. Recd from B. Egan \$50.00.
- 18. Recd a letter from Rev. Frans. Neal, relative to Rev. Mr. Rosseter's will—with request to know the succession, etc.
- 21, Sunday. Mass at St. Mary's.
- 24. Mass for soul of Eliza Wilcox, on the 22.
- 28, Sunday. St. Mary's.

## APRIL.

- 3. Out for Coffee Run. Arrived about 7 p. m.
- 4, Sunday. Coffee Run \$7.25—no improvement—gave black man Charles 1 dolr. for his passage to Wilmington to lath and plaister my house.
- 5. Paid 15 dolls. for 21  $\frac{1}{2}$  yds. of rag carpet to Susy Sharky. Started from Coffee Run—take Tho's child Mary to attend the Bishop's mother—paid her passage in Cook's stage 75c—my own 150c—arrived in Philia.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2. on Tuesday the 6th.
- 16. Good Friday.
- 17. Thomas Egan's waggon arrived this morning & Thomas Dickerson from Coffee Run.
- 18, Easter Sunday. St. Mary's—nearly overpower'd—p[reached].

## MAY.

- 5. Yesterday Evng. Resolutions moved at board of Trustees St. Mary's Phila. to reduce the establishment of the Bishop & his clergy from 2000\$ to \$800—& to withdraw his extra allowance as Bishop of 400\$ in toto.

12. Mass for soul of Lisy Maguire. Settled all house accounts. servant's wages, old bills &c—with Bishop Egan yesterday—& begin from this day, inclusive, a new acct.

15. Set out for Wt. Chester.

16. Mass Wt. Chr. col. 362  $\frac{1}{2}$ . reach'd Coffee Run at night.

17. Mass soul of Lizy Maguire—my room spoil'd in the plaistering—no imp—about the house.

18. Mass at three ocl. in morn—started from Coffee Run before 5—arrived in Phila. at 1 p. m. where I found Rev. Mr OB. [O'Brien] at last—stage hire 150c—exp crackers 6—suprisingly fatigued—leg very sore.

24. Mass int. of Charles Lector. Confidence in God.

27. Ascension Bought an umbrella from Mrs. Fisher—six dolars pd.

28. Started for Wilmington in the steam boat Delaware at  $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 a. m.—arrived in Wiln. at 4 p. m.—tolerable stiff breeze all the way—of course no great sailing with wind & steam—tide against her—expenses at Paul Mc Ginn's & passage \$1.62  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

31. Went to Wil—this evening—man & horses.

### JUNE.

1. Stage to Phila 150—crackers 6—arrived  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12.

4. Passage to Wilm. in steam boat . . . 1.00

Dinner at Paul Mc Ginn's . . . . . 25

Oats for 2 horses & 6c to ostler . . . 18  $\frac{1}{2}$

return. stage to Phil. & on road . . . 1.56

breakfast, supper, room & servts. at

Paul Mc G. Mond eve. & Tuesday

morg.

oats to 2 horses . . . . . 87  $\frac{1}{2}$

Saturd. Sund. Monday's exp—75c. p. 2.25

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6.12 ;

if out passage had been in stage instead of steamboat—it would be 50c more say 6.75 ; and if horse hire was charged which it should be, & man taken 2 days from work to bring horses & take them back—the expenditure of a journey to Coffee Run from Philadelphia would stand at lowest rate

Cost, out & home . . . . .	6.12
2 horses & 1 man 2 days . . . . .	6.00
dinners & drams to the man . . . . .	0.62 ½
	<hr/>
	\$12.74 ½
subscription by Congn . . . . .	8.00
	<hr/>
Loss to me, by every journey . . .	\$4.74 ½

6, Whitsunday. Thos Maguire came to Philadelphia yesterday eveng—made a bold push at having the whole plantation to himself by the purchase of what will be on the north side of the turnpike at his own price, and what will be on my side, south, during his life at 80 Dls. pr. yr. & to be paid his improvement by liming—this would soon lime me out of the whole—Thos over-shot himself.

.13, Trinity Sunday St. Mary's p[reached.] Bishop confirms at St. Augustine's.

15. Wrote to Rev. Mr. Frs. Neal a copy of my deed—yesterday—to show that no reserve could, was, or ought to be inserted in a deed.

16. Very warm—a dreadful thunder gust at 8 p. m.

18. A dutch Priest was introduced yesterday evg. by Rev. Mr. Roloff—just arrived from Gottenbourg viâ New York—by name Varin—suffocatingly warm—leg soso.

20. St. Mary's. Rev. Mr. O'Brien in Wt. Chester—heat insup.

21. Mr. O'Brien return'd at 4 p. m. 3 Drs.

22. Mass for soul of Eliza Willcox.

23. Bonny Lass colted last night—Horse colt.



24. Frs. & Biddy Doras came to Philia from Coffee Run by Js. Bryan's packet.

27, Sunday. St. Mary's p[reached.]

# JULY.

2. Set out for Coffee Run to remain if possible—Mary Maguire returns with Frs. & Biddy Doras.

3. On water all night—Start from wil at 10 A. M.

4. Sunday. Mass Coffee Run—Subs. 5.00 last years arrears 11.00.

7. Benjamin arrived at Coffee Run at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 p. m. with letter from Doctor Egan.

8. I set out from Coffee Run at 5 a. m.—with Benjamin for Philadia for the quarterly meeting of Trustees on Monday 12th. Isaac with my luggage in cart to the Wilmington packet—whole expense of journey 5.20.—arriv'd at 2 p. m. nearly dead with heat and dust.

9. Ill with fatigue & prickly heat.

11, Sunday. 1st Mass Cong. St. Mary's—2d. High Mass in Trinity Church, Rev. Mr. Roloff having taken the ablution after his 1st Mass. Rev. Mr. O B. p[reached] his 1st sermon in St. Mary's—very well.

12. Mass intention of Adam Premir—quarterly meeting of the board of Trustees notified by Michl. Doran, secretary, on Monday 5th. inst—The Rt. Rev. Bishop Egan, Rev. Mr. OBrien, Jas. OConway, Timothy Desmond and I, attended at the hour appointed 6 p. m. & waited until half past seven—not one of the other Trustees attended—nor sent apology.

16. Thos. started for Coffee Run after hiring men for Brandywine works at Jaque Holloghan.

18, Sunday. Bishop Egan's monitoire against the 6 outstanding Trustees.

19. High Mass 10 ocl. in St. Mary's for the soul of Peter Chevalier—interr'd—pd—meeting in D. Eg's room.

22. Mr Dumontet buried.

25, Sunday—address of the Trustees to the pew holders of St. Mary's.

30. Set out for Coffee Run.

31. At Coffee Run—yarn for six pair of stockings & one lb. of sewing thread—elegantly bleached stolen out of my new house—also 1 new shirt of Fs. Doras & a pr. of trousers & shirt out of wash tub.

### AUGUST.

1. Coffee Run.

2. Started to annoint Francis Kane at Jemmy McGee's—went from there to Mrs. Willcox—Frs. Doras came to take back the horse.

3. Mass intention of Mrs. Willcox—5.00—started for Chester—to boy taking back the horse 37½—stage hire from Chester to Phil. \$1.00 expenses on road 12½—total expense of journey & turnpikes 6.75.

6. Message for Bishop Egan to attend at the Lazaret to one Daniel Deeny, brother in law to Augustine Fagan, Trustee of St. Mary's, who is under sentence of being shot on Monday next—these four days past & this, suffocatingly warm.

7. Dr. Egan started at 5. & return'd at 10 A. m.

8, Sunday. Mass St. Josh's—all congregs. pr[eached] St. Mary's—never more distress'd with heat. Pere St. Vincent.

12. Rev. Mr. O'Brien notified, yesterday, to Bishop Egan that he would not remain longer on St. Mary's establishment than Wednesday next 18th inst. when he'll set out for Pittsburg. Rev. Mr. McGirr call'd from thence to fill Mr. OB's place.

14. Rev. Mr. Varin. Rev. Mr. Marshall—Rev. Mr. OBrien to West Chester. Cash for a Rock fish for Squire Kenny—50c.

15. Assumption Sunday. Almost lost with fatigue.

16. Settled all accts of House with R. R. Dr. Eg— & Rev. Mr. OBrien who goes off for Pittsburg on 18th.

18. Rev. Mr. OBrien started this morning for Baltimore in the Expedition stage.

20. Pere St. Vincent de Paul, Trappiste.

21. Letter from my worthy Friend Capt. Stephen Rickard of the Hand park a Prisoner of war in Concord, State of Massachusetts—taken on his voyage from Malaga to St. Petersburg—a letter from F. Cooper New York.

22, Sunday. Head ache all day—intense heat—Pere Vincent.

28. Fagan, Augustine adm to So.

29, Sunday. Preached.

# SEPTEMBER.

8. Rev. Mr. Vincent return'd yesterday from Coffee Run.

12, Sunday. St. Mary's—nearly exhausted with heat, fatigue &c.

13. Mass intention of Mr. Keating. Took out letters of Administration for Mrs. Sara Allen—her husband Joseph Allen blown up on board the Privateer—young Teazer—certificate—& power of Attorney—3 Dolls fees—power gratis by Mr. Henderson—Pere Vincent ill since Thursday last.

18. To Wt. Chester 1.37 ½.

19, Sunday Wt. Chester int. 14. Col. 5.65 Bap. 1.00.

20. Mass at Squire Kenny's Wt. Chester int. of Mr. Keating—Squeez'd to death in stage 16 full grown persons & 1 child.

21. Leg begins to grumble.

24. Rev. Father Vincent de Paul said Mass for Miss Ulalia Keating—birthday.

29. Cash paid John Doyle sexton & John Smith Stone Cutter for Louisa Bauduy, head & foot Stones—\$23.75.

## OCTOBER.

1. Stage to Chester—arrived at Concord 3 p. m. Mrs. W. Jenkins.
2. Mass int. Mr. Keating. set out for Coffee Run. snack of bread & cheese at Paul's.
3. Sunday. Coffee Run. cong. 8.50. Set out for Concord—arrived about 8 p. m.
4. Mass int. Mr. Keating. Js. Willcox married.
5. Mass int. Mr. Keating—arrived at Coffee Run a desert 4 p. m.
6. Mass int. Mr. Keating—Jn. Dorat, call'd at Coffee Run, din'd &c.
7. Visited John Kennedy, sick, at Jas. Sharky's.
10. Sunday—Mass in Coffee Run soul of John Heare of Rush Co. Dublin—Set out for Wilmington—reach'd Wilmington  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p. m.—Jn. Kennedy died this day—room & Breakfast at Paul McGinn's 50c—Rev. Mr. McGirr arrived from Pittsburg—found Pere Urbain & frere Hugo Trappists at St. Mary's.
12. Rev. Mr. Ladaviere from George Town for New York. Lend my house & place at Coffee Run to the Trappists until they settle.
13. Gave 20 dols. 50/100 to Pere Urbain for Rev. Mr. Babade, Baltimore. Trappists started.
14. Bespoke a box of mould a half a box of dipt candles for St. Mary's house—& 25 lb. soap.
15. Leg very bad.
16. Cash for Rev. Vincent de Paul going to Wt. Chester 125c—Cash to Pere Vincent 245. Sent off Pere Urbain's bale of dry goods to Rev. Mr. Helbron Greensburg freight of waggon 6.27c. for 114 lb. Rev. Mr. Varin.
18. News of the capture of the whole British army under Genl. Proctor by the American Genl. Harrison near Malden.
19. Laurette brought her son André to Mr. Rouanez's school—illumination ordered by the Mayor of Philadia for Thursday evg. 21st inst. on acct. of the news of yesterday.

25. Rev. Father Vincent de Paul & I start from Philadia for Coffee Run to prepare the house for the arrival of the La Trappe Order from Baltimore.—arrived about 7 o'clock—dreadful rain all day.

26. No letter for Mr. Vincent de Paul as expected from Baltimore—heavy rain in night.

27. No letter to Rev. Mr. Vincent—could do nothing about the house.

28. Fine day.—no letter—great disappointment.

29. Father Vincent received his long looked for letter this evening—The Trappists are waiting at French Town these two days past—feather head—Father Urbain directed his answer to Philadelphia instead of Wilmn.

30. Father Vincent started this morning for French Town by Wilmn. to hire a stage.

31, Sunday. Mass Coffee Run int. of Jn. Gartland for those he may have injured. Rev. Pere Vincent return'd at 3 p. m.—his people disappointed him—his stage hir'd cost him 11 Dols. 1 Dol. exp.

#### NOVEMBER.

2. Mass for the faithful departed. Pere Vincent received another letter from Baltimore, by 'Thos. who came by Wilmn. to Jn. Crosson's Vendue—where he bought hay for the Trappists. Pere Vincent goes to French Town again to morrow.

3. Pere Vinct. started. 'Thos. agreed for a fresh calved cow price 24 dols. for the Traps. I engaged 'Thos's pr. of oxen & cart for them. 'Thos. resigned his right of fire wood on the plantation in their favour—I sent Isaac to Wilmingn. for case from Phila. for a box of candles, a barrel of flour, all for Traps—7 Loaves.

5. At 6 in the evening Pere Urbain, Pere Ugene Pere Vincent de Paul. Freres Louis, Xavier, Claude, Hugon, Paul, & Dosithé arrived from Baltimore by French Town at Coffee Run—Frederick Ford Waggon'd.

6. Frederick charged 5.50, per day—3 days—\$16.50 paid



by Pere Eugene—settling luggage &c. Hambleton brought a fresh calved cow I paid \$24.00 for her—one barrel of flour \$9.—not paid yet—charged in Tho's bill.

7, Sunday. Coffee Run 9.50. 2 bpms 1.50.

8. Peres Urbain & Vincent & frere Hugon went to French Town with Tho's waggon for remainder of Luggage. Pere Urbain for Pittsburg. Patk Henry brought 10 bushels of potatoes to the Rev. Trap—I paid for them 4 dolls. 67/100, 3s. 6d. p—bush.

9. Went to Mr. Irene Dupont's. Fred Bauduy's marriage 3 chs. from there to Wilmington wherefrom Isaac Maguire takes home Bonny Lass—Meat for the sick Traps. by Isaac. Mr. Bauduy gives a waggon load of hay to the Trapps—at Paul Mc Ginn's this night.

10. Start for Philia—breakfast, room, & Isaac's supper last night—62 ½ paid.



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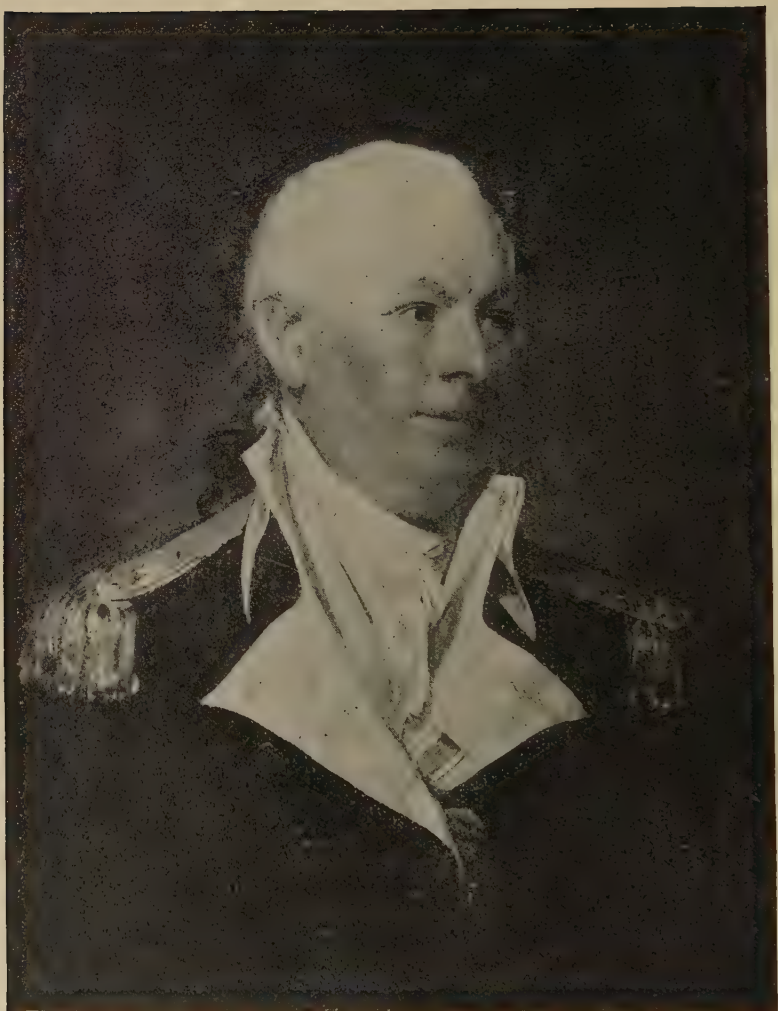
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COM. JOHN BARRY.

From a painting in Independence Hall by Colon Campbell Cooper.

# THE FIRST CATHOLIC FOURTH OF JULY, St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, A. D., 1779.

BY ELEANOR C. DONNELLY.

*"July 4th, 1779, was the first specially Catholic celebration of the Day of Independence."*—Griffin's *"Story of St. Mary's"* in  
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES.

'Twas in our Lady's old and hallowed fane,  
A golden century ago, and more,—  
Back in the shadow of a dread campaign,  
Before we burst the last links of our chain,  
In Revolutionary days of yore—

High festival was held one summer morn,  
To celebrate, with sacrifice and prayer,  
The day whereon our liberty was born ;  
And cheer with sweetest song those hearts forlorn  
That languished in the thraldom of despair.

An august throng was gathered at the Mass—  
All Philadelphia's gallant sons and true ;  
As history uplifts her magic glass,  
Along the solemn aisles we see them pass,  
To crowd the nave and fill each narrow pew.

Here kneels Gerard, the French Ambassador,—  
Our Congress there, our Council's President,  
With the Supreme Executive, adore,  
The Son of Mary—hark ! that orator  
Is Abbé Seraphin, the eloquent.\*

In gold-wrought stole and surplice of fair lace,  
The preacher from his velvet pulpit bends ;  
All eyes are centred on his grave, dark face,  
The while he wins, with words of power and grace,  
Alike both secret foes and loyal friends.

---

\* Rev. Seraphin Bandol, M. Gerard's chaplain, who preached on the occasion.—See  
*A. C. H. Researches.*

The open windows court the soft, warm air,  
 The song of wild birds in the waving trees,  
 Faint murmurs from the fields, the Delaware,  
 And all the sounds that freight a summer breeze ;  
 For much of rural loveliness lies spread  
 Around St. Mary's in these days, long-dead.

With myriad lights the lovely chancel glows,  
 Flowers and incense scent the atmosphere ;  
 Majestic music from the organ flows,  
 And voices, sweet as bells at evening's close,  
 Ring out the glad *Te Deum* high and clear !

But o'er the altar, in its marble frame,  
 A pictured Calvary\* surmounts the shrine :  
 The pale Christ hangs upon His cross of shame,  
 The blood drops falling from His wounds divine,  
 While Mother Mary, in the gloom below,  
 Hides in her veil her weight of wordless woe.

Oh ! how the hearts of these old patriots swell  
 With mingled tremors of delight and doubt !  
 Tho' grateful hopes their sinking hearts compel,  
 They dream, perchance, of freedom's funeral-knell,  
 In fancy see the allies put to rout.

Throes of desire, yet dread uncertainty,  
 Attend upon this festival sublime,  
 This consecration of our Liberty  
 By heaven's highest, holiest mystery,  
 Upon an altar of the olden time.

The altar of our Queen. O sacred fires  
 That deathless light St. Mary's temple gray !  
 O patriots at prayer ! O sweet-voiced choirs !  
 Ye show us how our grand old Catholic sires  
 First celebrated INDEPENDENCE DAY !

---

\* John Adams mentions this picture in his "*Familiar Letters* to his wife," as having been much impressed by it when he and George Washington attended Vespers at St. Mary's on Sunday afternoon, October 9, 1774.—*A. C. H. Researches*.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
THE FIRST VICARIATE OF AMERICA, A. D., 1493.

WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENT FROM THE VATICAN  
ARCHIVES.

---

BY REV. HERMAN J. HEUSER.

---

In view of the steps recently taken by the *American Catholic Historical Society* to secure from the Vatican Archives original documents regarding the early history of the Church in America, we may fitly examine some of the more important documents already brought to light through the intelligent industry of an American and several European scholars interested in researches of this kind.

The first document, both in the order of time and real historical value, is a manuscript discovered by an American priest, Father P. De Roo,\* who, a few years ago, spent some time in Rome for the purpose of historical investigation. It is the official Bull† erecting the countries discovered by Columbus, under Spanish protection, into a Vicariate Apostolic, and appointing for the office of Vicar a Spanish friar named Bernard Boil.

This valuable "find" throws an entirely new light on the character of the men connected with the establishment of the first Vicariate Apostolic in the countries discovered

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\* P. De Roo is at present engaged in missionary labors in the diocese of Oregon, but promises to publish in the near future a "Religious and Civil History" of Pre-Columbian America, for which he has gathered valuable material.

† The Ms. is marked *L. Podochatarus*, and is catalogued in the Secret Vatican Archives among the *Regest.* (DCCLXXVII F. 122.)

by Columbus. The fact that Alexander VI. had made an appointment of a Vicar was, of course, known, but no one seems to have suspected that the "Father Boyle," whom Robertson characterizes as "one of the most turbulent and outrageous" among those who subsequently opposed Columbus, was not the learned and pious guide, whom the Pope had selected for the important mission of organizing the Church in the New World. The controversies between the Franciscans of a later day (Luke Wadding and others) and the Benedictines, as to which Order belongs the credit of having sent the first missionaries to the Indies, sufficiently indicate that there had been ground for doubt. As a matter of fact the *authentic text* of the appointment was never known, and our critical historians, such as Bancroft, Winsor, Fiske and Gilmary Shea, have simply followed the erroneous traditions derived from Spanish sources.

When P. De Roo discovered the true Bull in the Secret Archives at the Vatican he made a copy of it and printed the Latin text as an Appendix in the Roman Archæological Quarterly published by Monsignor De Waal at the *Campo Santo*. This was early in 1892. De Lorgues and Tarducci took cognizance of it, or at least knew of the "find," although, to judge from Dr. Richard H. Clarke's reference in his "Old and New Lights on Columbus," published the following year, they assign an erroneous date to the document. Dr. Clarke says:—"Recent researches among the Vatican Secret Archives have disclosed the singular fact that Father Bernard Boil . . . was not in fact the person appointed by the Holy See to the high office of Vicar Apostolic of the Indies, and that the person appointed was Father Bernard Boyle, the provincial of the Franciscan Order in Spain. *It was the wily Ferdinand who availed himself of the similarity in the names, and substituted a favorite of his own, Father Boil or Buil,\**

---

\*Buyl, Buyll, Buill, Bueill, Buillius, Buelius, Buellius, Bucillus, Bucillius, and finally Boyl and Boyle are the varieties of his name given by different historians.



a *Benedictine monk of Catalonia.*" (*Op. cit.*, page 272; see also page 304.)

Let me briefly point out the importance of this document from the historical as well as the ecclesiastical point of view.

The Bull is dated 25 June ("septimo Kal. Julii"), 1493, that is to say, three months after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, wherein he discovered the island of Cuba, and exactly three months before he embarked on his second expedition from Cadiz. The disputes between Spain and Portugal arising out of the line fixed by Alexander VI., allowing to Spain all lands to be discovered by her one hundred leagues west of the Azores Islands, had not yet been adjusted by the treaty of Tordesillas, which took place the following year, and which removed the line 270 leagues farther west. Pending these disputes the Pontiff took definite steps to guard the spiritual interests of the newly discovered territories; and this is a point of primary importance, throwing light on the policy of the Holy See with regard to the Columbian acquisition.

## I.

We find that, from the very outset, the legislation of the Church asserts itself to counteract the spirit of rapacity and cruelty which was so likely to grow out of the conditions under which the discoveries of new and rich lands and the encounter with an inferior race took place. Columbus and his followers have been charged with many abuses and inhumanities, and petty historians have sought and found a pretext for vilifying the Church because it was known that priests were among the first discoverers. But as H. H. Bancroft\* impartially observes regarding the abuses practised by the early colonizers: "Such," he says, "were not the teachings of the Church. . . . True, the army of fortune-seekers who first rushed to the New World in search

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\* See Vol. VI *History of Central America*, pp. 106 et seq.

of gold came for lust and plunder; but with them, and inspired with very different motives, came the missionaries of the cross, pointing the savages to civilization and a purer religion than their own." Unfortunately the missionaries were of the same race as the unprincipled adventurers, "who were ever present to give the lie to the teachings of the priests." \*

Much also has been written to show that Pope Alexander VI. was an unworthy churchman and an ambitious prince. We may believe that he reaped, as Pope, the fruits of his antecedents, but it is true also that he fell heir to the calumnies of his time and his family connections. If he had in a marked degree the faults of the Italian nobles of his age, he was also endowed with great qualities of mind and heart, which at critical moments made him realize the responsibility that rested upon him as the representative of the pontifical dignity. Many disciplinary enactments of his reign give evidence of this fact. If anything be wanting to prove it, the document before us does so, wherein he provides in detail for the observance of religious discipline and the spread of Christian faith among the native tribes of the newly discovered lands. Nor can it be justly said that there was any mere worldly motive in this zeal to claim the savage tribes of the Indian race for the Faith. He wished to impart to them the truth, and with the truth he strenuously sought to secure for them all the blessings of freedom and civilization. Had not Alexander interposed with strong arm against the power of public opinion in Spain, the traffic in Indian slaves would have become a mere substitute of Christian barbarity for the pagan orgies of uncivilized freedom. "It is doubtful," says our trustworthy American historian, "whether the enslavement of the red man could ever have been made profitable; but whether it could or not, the Catholic Church is entitled to much credit for thus promptly setting its foot upon the

---

\* *Ibid*, page 167.

diabolical traffic which had already received the approval of some of the first jurists of the day. . . . Had not the Pope at this juncture decided against the proposition, the subject of Indian slavery would not have been so easily and quickly settled." \*

## II.

Next to the fact that the document before us throws new light upon the character of Alexander VI as a vigilant guardian of Catholic faith and morals in the newly discovered lands, it corrects, as has already been suggested, two very important statements in regard to the earliest ecclesiastical jurisdiction of these countries. Hitherto the Benedictines have been credited with this first trust, in the person of a Father Bernard Boyl (Buil), a member of their Order, who is said to have enjoyed the special favor of King Ferdinand. The Papal Bull, however, is explicit in stating that the new Vicar Apostolic appointed was the devout and much respected Provincial of the Friars Minor, who bore a similar name.† It is unquestioned that the King's favorite actually went, and we may believe that, had not the Pope's choice been interfered with by the royal policy, Columbus would have fared more justly at the hands of his sovereign, who was influenced by the partial reports of P. Boyl, the Benedictine. It is equally likely that the reckless conduct of the adventurous crew that accompanied the second expedition would have been kept in check by the authority of a respected and unimpeachable ecclesiastical head like the saintly Provincial of the Franciscans. The statements, therefore, of

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\* Bancroft, *l. c.*, page 180.

† We have not at hand the recent biography of Columbus by Tarducci, nor that by the Count de Lorgues, quoted by Dr. Clarke in "Old and New Lights on Columbus." By a common error, however, the Bull is dated July 7, 1493, whereas the original has VII Kal. Julii, which is the Julian mode of reckoning, and corresponds to the twenty-fifth of June.

Bancroft, Winsor and others who have written on this subject in late years, to the effect that a Brief from Rome appointed Father Boyl, a religious of the Benedictine Order, to be Vicar Apostolic of the Indies, is incorrect.\*

### III.

With this fact of the first Vicariate Apostolic established in 1493 and the Bull giving detailed faculties to the new Vicar, another error commonly repeated by historians of America is eliminated, namely, that the American Church until 1512 depended for jurisdiction on the See of Seville.† The papal Bull is emphatic in declaring the absolute missionary independence of the new Vicariate.

Something of interest to the student of American history might be deduced from a comparison of the lives of the two Vicars Apostolic, the one appointed by the Pope, the other assuming the charge by civil substitution; but the scope of our paper does not require this excursion into personal history.

One word as to what may seem to modern judgment a needless detailing of ecclesiastical faculties and privileges on the part of the Pope. The right of granting absolution and the right of seeking it in order to be freed from the guilt and penalty of certain crimes, ordinarily reserved to special confessors under the jurisdiction of Spanish bishops, can be properly understood only when we have made ourselves familiar with the system of pastoral or rather parochial ministration in Spain. It was an age which made the Inquisition as a just instrument of correction a legiti-

\* Dr. Clarke, by an apparent oversight, repeats this statement in his book, page 229; although he subsequently mentions the document, which corrects this error.

† It is strange that Mgr. O'Gorman, in his *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, (1895) should make this misstatement, apparently following Dr. Gilmary Shea, although attention had been called to the Papal document, as we have seen, by Dr. Clarke more than a year before.

mate necessity, although this statement does not imply a justification of its abuses and assumptions by the civil authorities, who alone are responsible for the sinister meaning that attaches to the word "Inquisition." That the animosities of the Jews and Moslems against the Christians were a danger to the peace of the Spanish Church and her internal government, may be realized to some extent when we reflect on the present position of the Armenians in their forced intercourse with the Turks. Analogous, though unlike, conditions in Spain brought forth a legislation which would be abnormal under other circumstances, and the ecclesiastical exemptions allowed by the Pope to the Spanish missionaries, and their subjects and converts among the Indians, plainly show how clearly the Church realized the changed position of the newly discovered world, the America of 1493, which required greater freedom for its moral expansion than could be safely allowed to the spoilt children at home.

We give without further comment the document in the original Latin with its English translation.

[ORIGINAL.]

Alexander, etc., Dilecto filio Bernardo Boil, fratri ordinis Minorum, Vicario dicti ordinis in Hispaniarum regnis, Salutem, etc.

Piis fidelium, praesertim Catholicorum regum et principum, votis, quae religionis propagationem divinique cultus augmentum et fidei Catholicae exaltationem ac animarum salutem respiciunt, libenter annuimus; eaque, quantum cum Deo possumus, favoribus prosequimur opportunis.

Cum itaque, sicut charissimus in Christo filius noster, Ferdinandus rex et charissima in Christo filia nostra, Elisabetha regina, Castellae et Legionis, Aragonum et Granatae, illustres, Nobis nuper exponi fecerunt; ipsi



fervore devotionis accensi, desiderantes quod fides Catholica in terris et insulis, per eos de novo, versus partes occidentales et mare Oceanum, repertis, antea aliis incognitis, ac aliis inposterum reperiendis, floreat et exaltetur; decreverunt te ad partes illas destinare, ut inibi, per te et alios presbyteros saeculares vel religiosos ad id idoneos et per te deputandos, verbum Dei praedicetis et seminetis, ac incolas et habitatores insularum et terrarum praedictarum, qui fidei nostrae cognitionem non habent, ad fidem ipsam ac religionem Christianam reducat, et in mandatis Domini eos ambulare doceatis et instruatis;

Nos, sperantes quod ea, quae tibi duxerimus committenda, fideliter et diligenter exequeris, tibi, qui presbyter es, ad insulas et partes praedictas, etiam cum aliquibus sociis, tui vel alterius ordinis, per te aut eosdem regem et reginam eligendis, superiorum tuorum vel cujusvis alterius super hoc licentia minime requisita, accedendi et inibi, quamdiu volueris, commorandi; ac, per te vel alium seu alios ad id idoneos presbyteros, saeculares vel religiosos, ordinum quorumcumque, verbum Dei praedicandi et seminandi, dictosque incolas et habitatores ad fidem Catholicam reducendi eosque baptizandi, et in fide ipsa instruendi, ac ecclesiastica Sacramenta, quoties opus fuerit, ipsis ministrandi; ipsosque et eorum quemlibet, per te vel alium seu alios presbyteros saeculares vel religiosos, et in eorum confessionibus, etiam quoties opus fuerit, audiendi; illisque diligenter auditis, pro commissis per eos criminibus, excessibus et delictis, etiam si talia fuerint propter quae Sedes Apostolica quovis modo fuerit consulenda, de absolutionis debito providendi; eisque poenitentiam salutarem injungendi; necnon vota quaecumque, per eos pro tempore emissa (Jerosolymitano, liminum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac Sancti Jacobi in Compostella, et Religionis votis dumtaxat exceptis), in alia pietatis opera commutandi; ac quaecumque ecclesias, capellas, monasteria, domos, ordinum quorumcumque, etiam Mendicantium, tam virorum quam mulierum; et

loca pia, cum campanilibus, campanis, claustris, dormitoriis, refectoriis, hortis, hortaliis et aliis necessariis officinis, sine alterius praejudicio, erigendi, construendi et aedificandi; ac ordinum Mendicantium professoribus domos, quas pro eis construxeris et aedificaveris, recipiendi et perpetuo inhabitandi licentiam concedendi; dictasque ecclesias benedicendi et, quoties illas earumque coemeteria per effusionem sanguinis vel seminis aut alias violari contigerit, aqua prius per aliquem Catholicum antistitem (ut moris est) benedicta, reconciliandi; et etiam necessitatis tempore, super quo conscientias vestras oneramus, carnibus et aliis cibis, tibi et sociis tuis praedictis juxta regularia dictorum ordinum instituta prohibitis, libere et licite vescendi; omniaque alia et singula in praemissis et circa ea necessaria et quomodolibet oportuna faciendi, gerendi, exequendi et disponendi plenam, liberam et omnimodam, auctoritate apostolica et ex certa scientia, tenore praesentium, facultatem, licentiam, potestatem et auctoritatem concedimus pariter et elargimur.

Et insuper, ut Christi fideles eo liberius, devotionis causa, ad dictas terras et insulas confluant, quo suarum se speraverint salutem animarum adepturos; omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus fidelibus praedictis, qui ad praedictas terras et insulas se personaliter, de mandato tamen et voluntate regis et reginae praedictorum, contulerint; ut ipsi, et quilibet eorum, confessorem idoneum saecularem vel regularem eligere possint, qui eos, et eorum quemlibet, modo praemisso, ab eorum criminibus, peccatis et delictis, etiam dictae Sedi reservatis, absolvat, ac eorum vota etiam commutet; necnon omnium peccatorum suorum, de quibus corde contriti et ore confessi fuerint, indulgentiam et remissionem ipsis, in sinceritate fidei, unitate Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ac obedientia et devotione nostra et successorum nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum canonice intrantium persistentibus, semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo, auctoritate praefata, concedere valeat;

Necnon monasteriis, locis et domibus erigendis et aedificandis, ac monachis et fratribus in illis pro tempore degentibus; ut omnibus et singulis gratis, privilegiis, libertatibus et exemptionibus, immunitatibus, indulgentiis et indultis, aliis monasteriis, locis, domibus, monachis et fratribus ordinum, quorum illa et illi fuerint, in genere concessis et concendendis imposterum, uti, potiri et gaudere libere et licite valeant, auctoritate praefata, de speciali dono gratiae, indulgemus.

Non obstantibus fe. re. Bonifacii PP. VIII. praedecessoris nostri, et, ne quivis ordinum Mendicantium fratres nova loca recipere praesumant, absque dictae Sedis licentia speciali, de prohibitione hujusmodi plenam et expressam mentionem faciente; et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus, statutis quoque et consuetudinibus dictorum ordinum, jramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis; quamquam tu de personis in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutis, quibus literae apostolicae dirigi debent, non existas; caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Verum, quia difficile foret praesentes literas ad singula quaeque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit, deferre; volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod illarum transsumptis, manu publici notarii inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo aliqujus personae ecclesiasticae in dignitate constitutae seu curiae ecclesiasticae munitis, ea prorsus fides indubia, in iudicio et extra ac alias ubilibet, adhibeatur, quae praesentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Nulli ergo, etc., nostrae concessionis, elargitionis, indulti, voluntatis et decreti infringere, etc. Si quis, etc.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno, etc., MCCCCLXXXIII, Septimo Kl. Julii, Pont. nostri anno primo.

*Gratis de mandato Smi. D. N. papae. Collat. Fhy. de Pontecurvo.*

*Pro Registr. A. de Mucciarellis. N. Casanova.*

[TRANSLATION.]\*

ALEXANDER VI., PONTIFF.

Health and Apostolic Benediction, to his beloved son Bernard Boil, of the Order of Friars Minor, Vicar of that Order in the dominion of Spain.

Gladly do we yield to the requests of the devout faithful, particularly the Catholic kings and princes, regarding the propagation of religion, the growth of divine worship, the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the salvation of souls ; and we would strengthen it by our protection as far as lies in us under the grace of God, as favorable opportunity offers.

Since, therefore, as we have recently learnt from our most beloved son in Christ, King Ferdinand, and from our dear daughter in Christ, Queen Isabella, illustrious rulers of Castile and Leon, Aragon and Granada, the fervor of their devotion has aroused in them the desire that the Catholic faith should flourish and gloriously increase in those lands and islands which have been recently discovered by them in the western regions and the Oceanic sea, previously unknown to others, as well as those that may yet be discovered,—they have come to the conclusion that you should be appointed for those parts, and that whilst there you should appoint and depute other secular and religious priests suitable for the work, that you might preach and cast the seed of the word of God, bringing the natives and inhabitants of those islands and countries, who have not the knowledge of our holy faith, to the observances and practices of the Christian religion, so that being taught and instructed they might learn to walk according to the commandments of God.

In the hope that you will faithfully and with diligence

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\*In the following translation we have endeavored to render the original text as literally as the peculiarity of the idiom allows, although in one or two instances we have preferred—for clearness sake—a direct expression in place of the Latin phrase.



fulfil the trust we are about to commit to you, we appoint you, in your office as priest, to proceed to the aforementioned islands and districts, taking with you several companions, of your own or some other Order according to your own choice or that of the King and Queen, without requiring any permission to this end from your own or any other superiors; and with the right to remain in those countries as long as you wish. And we desire that you, in person or through another or other priests who are apt for performing such duties, whether they be secular or religious and of whatever Order, preach and disseminate the word of God, leading the abovementioned natives and inhabitants to the Catholic faith, baptizing them, instructing them in the practices of religion and administering to them whenever it is necessary, the Sacraments of the Church; furthermore we empower you in person, or one or more of the other priests, seculars or religious, to administer the sacrament of penance with faculty of absolving from all crimes, excesses and sins (not excepting those reserved in any way to the Holy See) the persons whom they have carefully heard, and to enjoin upon them a salutary penance; also of commuting all manner of vows, made for the time being into other works of piety (excepting pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the tomb of the Apostles and St. James of Compostella, and also the vows of professed religious). We likewise empower you to erect, without prejudice to the rights of others, churches, chapels, monasteries, and houses for every class of religious Orders, even Mendicants, men and women; together with the shrines, bell-towers, bells, cells, dormitories, refectories, farms, gardens, and all other economical appointments which are necessary; and of allowing those who make profession in the Mendicant Orders to accept and permanently inhabit the houses which you build for their use. We grant also the faculty of consecrating the aforesaid churches with their cemeteries, and of reconsecrating them in case of their desecration through the spilling of blood or otherwise, taking care to obtain



water blessed for that purpose by some prelate of the Catholic Church, as is the custom. We also permit you and your companions, whenever necessity calls for it, to use meat and such other food as is forbidden by the ordinary rules of the religious institutions to which you are severally bound—but in this we charge your consciences not to use the privilege when there is no such necessity. In addition to these privileges we grant you, by our apostolic authority and with clear intent, full and free faculty, liberty, power and authority in each and all matters touching the subjects mentioned and such other measures as you deem necessary and opportune to do, perform, execute and dispose, according to the tenor of these present letters.

Moreover, in order that the faithful of Christ may more readily, and through some pious motive, flock to the above-mentioned lands and territories, in order to gain thereby a greater hope for the salvation of their souls, we grant those who emigrate in person to those regions, with the mandate and good-will of the King and Queen, the choice of any confessor (provided he have proper faculties), from the ranks of the secular or regular clergy, who can absolve them from their crimes, sins and faults, in the above-mentioned manner, not excepting such as are reserved to the Holy See, and who can commute their vows; and we give authority that they may impart to all, who are contrite of heart and confess their guilt, indulgence and remission, once in life and once at the point of death, so long as they remain in sincerity of faith, united to the Holy Roman Church, and obedient and loyal to us and our successors rightfully elected to the dignity of Roman Pontiffs.

We further permit, by special Indult, that all the concessions, privileges, liberties and exemptions, immunities, indulgences and indults granted and hereafter to be granted to other monasteries, places, houses, monks and brothers of religious Orders inhabiting the same, may, by our authority, be freely and lawfully used, possessed and enjoyed by the monasteries, places and houses in future to be erected

and built, and to the monks and brothers who for the time being dwell in them.

These privileges are to take effect notwithstanding anything whatever to the contrary which may have emanated from Pope Benedict VIII, our predecessor of illustrious memory, forbidding the brothers of the Mendicant Orders to accept new domiciles, without special license from the Holy See making full and express mention of this prohibition; notwithstanding, also, any other apostolic constitutions, statutes and traditions of said Orders, even if they are corroborated by legal declaration, apostolic confirmation, or any other valid instrument, even though you are not of the same rank as those constituted in ecclesiastical dignity to whom apostolic letters are generally addressed.

And since it would be difficult to have these letters carried into each and all the places in which their promulgation would be expedient, we desire and decree by the above-mentioned authority, that copies of the same, signed by the hands of a public notary deputed for that purpose, and provided with the seal of some ecclesiastical person of rank, or an ecclesiastical curia, be accepted in public court and elsewhere with the same authority as would be shown and given to this present writing.

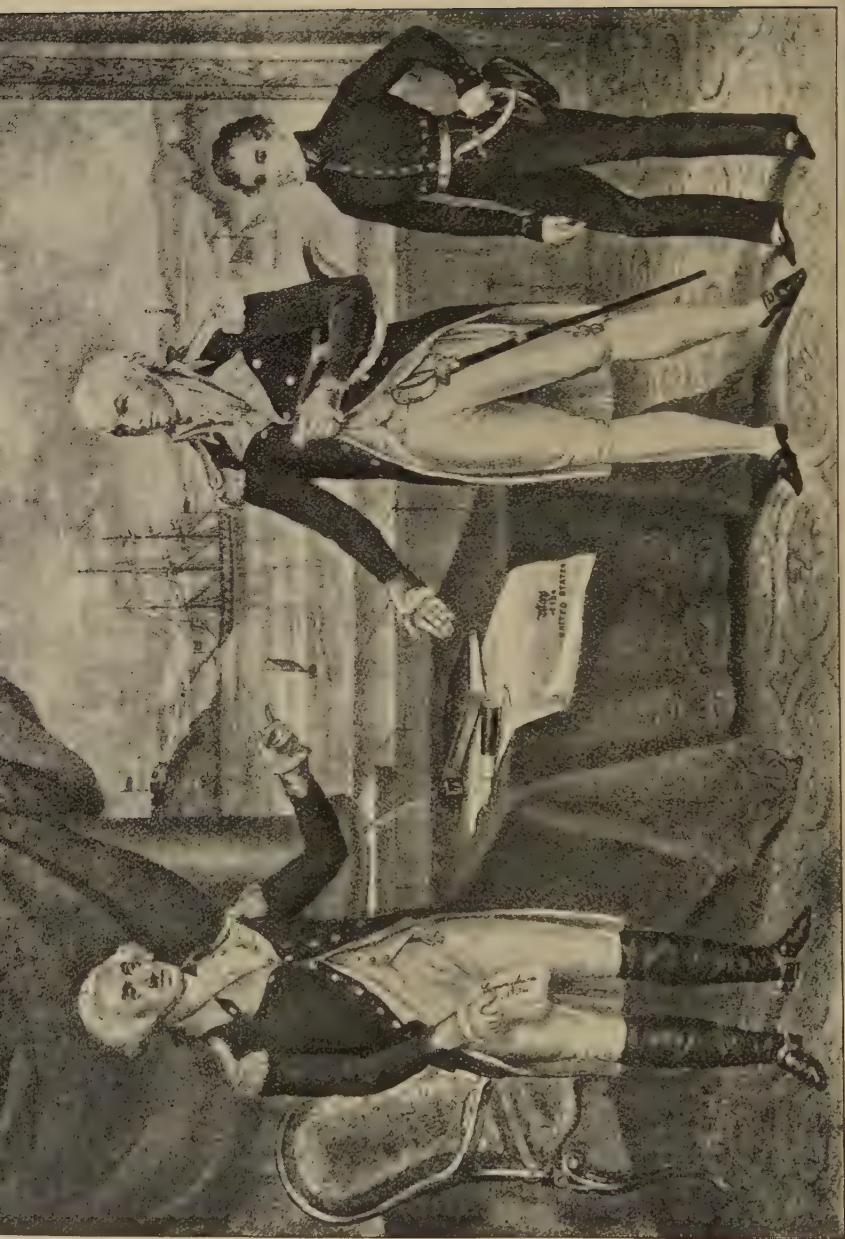
Let no one, therefore, attempt to infringe . . . our concession, grant, indult, will and decree, &c., &c.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year, &c., 1493, on the 25 of June, the first year of our Pontificate.

GRATIS, BY COMMAND OF OUR HOLY FATHER THE POPE.  
COLLAT. PHILIP OF PONTECORVO.

FOR THE REGISTRAR. A. DE MUCCIARELLIS. N. CASANOVA.





## THE HISTORY OF COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

A. D. 1745-1803.

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

*Edited by Francis T. Furey, A.M.*

The completion of the first century since the organization of the American Navy is a fitting time to pay tribute to the name and deeds of the brave man who was appointed by the "Father of his Country" as the first ranking captain of our nation's infant navy. John Barry "may justly be considered as 'the father of our navy,'" said the editor of the *Portfolio*, Mr. Dennie, in connection with a biographical sketch of the Commodore, which appeared in the issue of that periodical for July, 1813. Since then no original account of him has been printed. On the occasion of publishing that sketch the *Portfolio* remarked: "A full delineation of the character of Captain Barry would be peculiarly interesting, but the materials which have been supplied are not sufficient for such a work. We leave it to the industry and research of the future historian to fill up the outline and give to the picture that detail of incident and richness of color which the subject merits.

"Among the naval heroes of America who have advanced by the utility of their services and the splendor of their exploits the interests and glory of their country, Commodore John Barry holds a distinguished rank. His eminent services during our struggle for Independence, the fidelity and ability with which he discharged the duties of the important stations which he filled, from the period of the establishment of that Independence till within a few years of the close of his life, give him a lasting claim upon the gratitude of his country."



In Allen's "Biographical Dictionary," published in 1809, we read: "Barry was a patriot of integrity and unquestioned bravery. His naval achievements a few years before his death reflect honor on his memory. The carnage of war did not harden his heart into cruelty. He had the art of commanding without supercilious haughtiness or wanton severity. Another trait in his character was the punctilious observance of the duties of religion." And in Frost's "Naval Biography" it is said: "His name occurs in connection with not a few remarkable events in the history of the Revolutionary War, and always with credit to himself and honor to the flag under which he sailed. Few commanders in the navy were employed in a greater variety of service or met the enemy under greater disadvantages. Yet in no one of the numerous actions in which he engaged did Commodore John Barry ever fail to acquit himself of his duty in a manner becoming a skilful seaman and a brave warrior."

## CHAPTER I.

BIRTH—PARENTAGE—EDUCATION—SENT TO SEA—CAPTAIN IN THE MERCHANT MARINE—TWICE MARRIED—ENGAGES IN THE SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTION—THE FIRST CAPTAIN COMMISSIONED UNDER UNITED STATES AUTHORITY—BARRY IN COMMAND OF THE "LEXINGTON"—PUTS TO SEA AND CAPTURES THE "EDWARD"—CONTROVERSY ABOUT PRIORITY OF FLAG AND NAVAL VICTORY—GALLANT DEFENCE WORK OF DELAWARE BAY—BARRY TRANSFERRED TO THE "EFFINGHAM"—THE "DARK DAYS OF '76"—FROM SEA TO WASHINGTON'S RESCUE—BARRY A LAND SOLDIER IN NEW JERSEY—SINKING OF THE SHIPS AT BORDENTOWN—BARRY CHARGED WITH DISRESPECTING AUTHORITY.

The subject of this memoir was a son of John Barry and his wife Catharine ———, whose ancestor was John Stafford of the Castle, an officer in Cromwell's army, whose

daughter was married to a man named Le Here (modernized Hore), of Horestown. His granddaughter married John Barry, a clerk in a malt house in Wexford, and these were the parents of our hero. They also had two other sons and a daughter, viz.: Thomas, who came to America after the Revolution, settled in Wilmington, Del., married a Swede, and had no issue; Peter, of whom there is no record, and Catharine, who married in Ireland.

This information is given on the authority of Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, of Trenton, N. J., in a letter to Captain John S. Barnes, of New York. This, and much more of genealogical interest, if well founded, was also communicated to Captain Barnes; but as I have not been able to verify it, and as there are self-evident inaccuracies in her account, I have chosen not to make any family record other than the above, which is given as mere tradition. All inquiries in Ireland have been fruitless.

If, in 1813, authentic records were wanting to perpetuate his fame; if "oblivious time had then almost effaced from general recollection the impress of his services," and that within ten years of his death, so is it now the more difficult, I fear, over eighty years still later, to attempt by "industry and research" to present the picture of this Irish Catholic who in our land gave his heart's devotion to the struggle for freedom and the maintenance of authority.

In many brief sketches of Barry it is stated that he came to America when about fifteen years old, after having been placed in the merchant service by his father; that after his arrival in Philadelphia he was employed by several of the leading merchants here, and that by close attention to duty he rose to the command of merchantmen owned by these employers. I have found nothing to warrant such statements, or to show that Barry was ever in Philadelphia or elsewhere in this country until he arrived here, on October 2, 1766, in command of the schooner *Barbadoes*, from the Barbadoes Islands.

He was born in the townland or district of Tacumshane (or Tacumshin), in the barony of Forth, on the Atlantic coast of County Wexford, Ireland, in 1745. Of his youth nothing is known except what is related by tradition. His father is said to have had two brothers; and a descendant of one of them now living in Philadelphia says that our hero, having lost his father when he was very young and his mother having married again, was taken in charge by an uncle living in the town of Wexford, who sent him to sea before he was fifteen. R. Somers Hayes, Esq., grandson of Patrick Hayes, Commodore Barry's nephew, says he possesses a dirk knife said to have belonged to Captain Barry when he was a midshipman in the British navy. But the members of another branch of the family do not give credence to this story. It is clear, however, that he became a seafarer when a boy, as he had experience enough to command a vessel when only in his twenty-first year. His schooling was scanty, as appears from the letters in his handwriting that are extant. This is not to be wondered at, as it was a severely punishable crime for the Irish Catholics to have schools when he was a boy. But if he could not write well, he learned how to fight excellently.

The first record I have found of him shows his arrival at Philadelphia as stated above. He was then twenty-one years old. On January 2, 1769, he was elected a member of the Society for the Relief of Poor and Distressed Masters of Ships (Campbell's "Hist. Hibernian Society"). He continued in command of the *Barbadoes* until 1771, when, on May 30, he arrived at Philadelphia from St. Croix, in charge of the schooner *Patty and Polly*. In October of the same year we find him commanding the schooner *Industry*, arriving from Virginia. He continued to sail her until 1772, when, on September 2, he arrived from Halifax as captain of the *Frugality*. He had gone thither in command of the *Industry*, but there he and

Captain Wilkinson changed places, and both arrived in Philadelphia on the same day. To Barry was then given the *Peggy*, which he sailed to St. Eustatia and Montserrat, and until, on his returning to Philadelphia, he was assigned to the *Black Prince*, which sailed for Bristol, England, on December 21, 1774. This vessel belonged to John Nixon, whose father, Richard, was a native of Wexford. This same John Nixon was afterwards the first to read the Declaration of Independence to the people, on July 8, 1776.

The Bristol record is the last I have found of his merchant-ship sailings. When the non-importation resolutions of the First Continental Congress went into effect, the publication of the arrival and departure of vessels ceased. It is stated, however, that the *Black Prince* returned from England on October 13, 1775. She was purchased by Congress, rechristened the *Alfred*, after the king of that name who is credited with being the founder of the English navy. Under Captain Saltonstall the *Alfred* became the flagship of Captain Ezek Hopkins, who, as commander of the first American fleet sailing under Continental authority, was the first "commodore," a title which, though not then official, was in common language applied to the commander of more than one vessel.

It was on the *Alfred* that Lieutenant John Paul Jones hoisted the first American ensign, bearing the legend, "Don't tread on me." She was captured in 1778 by the *Ariadne* and the *Ceres*, British frigates, the *Raleigh*, under Captain Thomas Thompson, having deserted her. For this conduct he was tried and relieved of his command, when Captain John Barry was appointed to take charge of her, as we shall see.

Captain John Barry was twice married, and the remains of both his wives rest in the same grave with his own, in the burying ground attached to St. Mary's Church in this city, South Fourth, below Locust street. The name of his first wife is uncertain. In 1877 Miss Sarah Smith



Stafford wrote to Captain John Barnes that Barry's first wife was Mary Burns, daughter of a Presbyterian minister. But among the marriage licenses recorded in the "Pennsylvania Archives" there is no mention of such an intended union. On the other hand, on October 31, 1767, a license was issued to John Barry and Mary Cleary. If this man was our John Barry, he took out the license two days after his return from a trip to the Barbadoes, for which he set sail again on November 12. Besides, there is no record of a Presbyterian minister named Burns at or near Philadelphia. But whether her name was Burns or Cleary, she died on February 9, 177—, aged twenty-nine years and ten months. When, years ago, I copied the inscriptions, the last figure of the year of her death was illegible on the old tombstone, which yet remains near the present tomb, where it was cast aside when in 1876 the modern monument was erected. In Gregory B. Keen's "Descendants of Joram Keyn," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. IV, the date of death is given as 1771. On July 7, 1777, Captain Barry married, at Christ Church (P. E.), Sarah Austin, daughter of Samuel Austin and Sarah Keen ("Penna. Archives," Vol. VIII.) His wife became a convert to the Catholic faith, and was baptized on July 21, 1779, according to the register preserved at St. Joseph's Church. She and her sister, Mary Austin, made and presented to John Paul Jones the flag of the Bon Homme Richard, the first American flag saluted by a foreign power. She died on November 13, 1831, at the age of seventy-seven. Her father was a son of John Austin, ship carpenter, who, on November 1, 1683, received from William Penn a lot of ground, 50 by 178 feet, at Third and Chestnut streets; and her mother was Sarah Keen, daughter of Jonas and Sarah (Dahlbo) Keen, who was born in Pilesgrove township, Salem county, New Jersey, on January 20, 1722. One brother, William Austin, was attainted of treason; his estate was confiscated and bought in by his brother Isaac, who supported the Colonies. Commodore Barry bequeathed



to him his "silver-hilted sword as a token of esteem." He died at Charleston, S. C., on August 3, 1814.

John Barry continued his peaceful voyages to and from the West Indies until, as we have seen, we find him captain of the *Black Prince* on the voyage to and from Bristol, England. His return to Philadelphia on that occasion was opportune for himself and for his country. The very day of his home-coming, October 13, the Continental Congress had resolved to fit out two armed cruisers, one of fourteen and the other of ten guns, with authority to capture vessels bringing supplies to the British army at Boston. Two vessels were purchased, under the authority of this resolution, by the Marine Committee of Congress, and they were named the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal*. On December 7 Captain Barry was appointed to the command of the former, and Captain Wilkes of the latter, which was afterwards lost at sea in a storm, all hands perishing except the cook. The *Lexington* was named in honor of the scene of the first combat with Great Britain. Captain Barry was "probably the first Catholic appointed in the Continental service (Scharf and Westcott's 'Hist. Phila.,' I, p. 302)." On entering it he is reported to have said that he had "given up the command of the finest ship and left the first employ of America." The *Lexington* had been "purchased earlier than the *Alfred*, and, in the nature of things, was more readily equipped" (Cooper's "Hist. Navy"). She carried fourteen four-pounders. These and other stores were obtained from Willing & Morris, Barry's former employers, which firm alone had "a quantity of Round Shott for 4 and 9 pounders in their store under the pavement in Penn street and in their yard" ("Pa. Arch.," Vol. II, p. 556).

Though Congress had in October begun the formation of a navy, yet it was not until December 22, 1775, that Ezek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was appointed commander-in-chief, and Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple and John Hopkins captains. Captain Barry's commission,

bearing date December 7, two weeks before the formal organization of the navy, was the first issued. From Alliston's "Life of Ellbridge Gerry" (p. 10) we learn that on December 13 Congress resolved to build thirteen ships and appointed a committee of thirteen to do the business; and that John Adams wrote to Gerry: "I was gone home by leave of Congress, but I presume Barry and Jones were appointed by this committee." Thus Captain John Barry was the first Catholic—the first officer—appointed to the first vessel purchased, named after the place of the first battle, sailed under the first Continental flag, and under that flag made the first capture of a British vessel, which was the first prize brought to Philadelphia.

It was long claimed for Captain Barry that the *Lexington* was the first cruiser to display at sea the first flag of our country—the Union with thirteen stripes. Cooper, in the earlier editions of his "History of the Navy," gave the honor to him; but, though first commissioned and though probably first ready for service, the severity of the weather, blocking the Delaware with ice, and an outbreak of small-pox among the crews are known to have detained the fleet under Hopkins so that it could not put to sea until February 17, 1776. Later investigations by the same historian (Ed. of 1853), and an examination of Barry's papers, show that he was employed on shore or in the Delaware after Hopkins' fleet had put to sea. Hopkins, then, and not Barry, made the first display on the ocean of the Union flag with thirteen stripes. Under Continental authority seizures of supply vessels had not yet been made. The American fleet had sailed, not for defensive, but for offensive, warfare. It had gone to the West Indies, the Bahama Islands, to attack and capture New Providence and to bring home munitions of war.

The *Lexington* had been fitted up and was ready for service. Accordingly, on March 23, Congress ordered letters of marque to be issued. Public and private cruisers were also authorized to capture British vessels. Cooper

and other writers on the history of the navy do not give the date of the *Lexington's* sailing from Philadelphia. But a letter of John Adams, dated April 12, speaks of Captain Barry as having sailed "a few days" before. The *Roebuck*, "one of His Majesty's pirates," kept a close watch of the Delaware Bay; but Barry's career, now beginning, shows, as subsequent events will demonstrate, that by flight as well as by fight he could become a victor. So, escaping the *Roebuck*, the *Lexington* got to sea and went southward. On April 7, "off the Capes of Virginia," she fell in with the *Edward*, a tender of the man-of-war *Liverpool*, "shattered her in a terrible manner," captured her and brought her to Philadelphia, delighting the patriots with his work. Thus "the *Lexington* was the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean" (Preble's "Origin of the Flag," 2d ed., p. 242). "The *Lexington* of the seas, therefore, occupies the position in our naval annals that the *Lexington* from whence she derives her name does from having been the arena of the first conflict of the Colonies with England. For Barry it can be truthfully claimed that he was the first under the striped flag to capture an armed vessel of the enemy" (*Ibid.*, p. 243). With his prize he arrived at Philadelphia on April 11. In his report to the Marine Committee, dated April 7, "in sight of the Capes of Virginia," he says:

"At one P. M. this day I fell in with the sloop *Edward* belonging to the *Liverpool* frigate. She engaged us near two glasses. They killed two of our men and wounded two more. We shattered her in a terrible manner, as you will see. We killed and wounded several of her crew. I shall give you a particular account of the powder and arms taken out of her, as well as my proceedings in general. I have the happiness to acquaint you that all our people behaved with much courage." (*Penna. Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1776.)

From the official report of the fight (Force's "Amer.

Archives," 4th series, vol. V) we learn that it "was continued desperately for one hour and twenty minutes, when the tender struck." Of this important capture John Adams, writing from Philadelphia on April 12, said: "We begin to make some little figure here in the navy way. Captain Barry fitted out here a few days ago in a 16-gun brig and put to sea by the *Roebuck* man-of-war in the Delaware river, and after he got without the Capes fell in with a tender belonging to the *Liverpool* man-of-war and took her after an engagement of two glasses. She had eight carriage guns and a number of swivels" (*Athenæum Mag.*, May, 1826). And Richard Henry Lee, writing to General Charles Lee at Williamsburg, Va., from Philadelphia, April 15, said: "Captain Barry in an armed brig hence has taken off the Capes of Virginia, and sent in here, a cutter with eight carriage guns belonging to the *Liverpool*, with one of that ship's lieutenants commanding her. He fought his tender well, not submitting until he was near sinking" ("Lee Papers," "N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 1871).

The British seamen captured on this occasion were: Captain Boger, John Johnston (midshipman), Isaac Burch, Owen Humphries, William Fulton, John Henderson, Seth Bowen, Robert Royston, Jacob Smith, Thomas Dopson, John Dayton, James Webb, John Palmer, James Ogelby, Richard Gibson, James Spencer, John Doyle, Henry Kelly, Thomas Phillips, John Shad, John Wilson, John Nesbit ("Pa. Arch.," 2d series, vol. I, p. 479). Another list given on p. 421 of the same volume gives additional names of prisoners as follows: Richard Bowdger, John Dreaper (mate), Andrew Kelly and John Stead, stated to be "in the sloop;" John Nesbit as "left at Capt. Timothy Shler's, sick," and Thomas Phillips as "left at Meg'r Richard Westcot's, sick," and John Wilson, "do." Among those captured on the *Edward* and not named above was Richard Dale. He had been lieutenant of a light cruiser belonging to Virginia, which had been captured by the *Edward*. Dale "was induced to adopt the royal cause," and so served on



the *Edward*. When taken prisoner by Barry explanations followed, and Dale renewed his allegiance to Virginia. Barry appointed him midshipman on the *Lexington*. He afterwards became a commodore in the United States navy.

On April 19 Lieutenant Boger was reported as prisoner on parole at Germantown, with an allowance of fifteen shillings a week for subsistence. He was sent to York on June 13, and the Committee of Safety there were directed to make the same allowance for his support.

On May 1 advertisement was made that at noon next day "the sloop *Edward*, condemned by the Court of Admiralty, with all her ammunition, furniture, tackle and apparel," would be sold at the Coffee House.

Not only has there been controversy as to whether or not Barry's *Lexington* was the first cruiser put to sea under the new flag, but also as to whether or not "the first British flag on the ocean was struck to him." This latter discussion took place in 1813. John Adams wrote to Ellbridge Gerry: "Philadelphia is now boasting that Paul Jones has asserted in his journal that his hand hoisted the first American flag, and Captain Barry has asserted that the first British flag was struck to him. Now I assert that the first American flag was hoisted by Captain John Manly and the first British flag was struck to him" (Adams' Works, vol. X, p. 30). Adams also wrote to John Langdon respecting this denial of honors to Jones and Barry, adding: "Both these vain boasts I know to be false, as you know them to be so. I wish your testimony to corroborate mine. It is not decent nor just that these emigrants, foreigners of the South, should falsely arrogate to themselves merit that belongs to New England sailors, officers and men" (*Ibid.*, X, 28). Langdon replied that the "pretentions" of Jones and Barry "are both unfounded." The confusion of judgment existed because there was no agreement in the minds of the debaters as to what constituted the American flag.



Concerning this discussion it is interesting to Philadelphia Catholics to note that it was to a Philadelphia Catholic, General Stephen Moylan, that Washington wrote concerning the advisability of adopting "a particular flag." In Preble's "History of the Flag" it is recorded that on October 20, 1775, Washington wrote to Moylan saying: "Please fix upon some particular flag and a signal by which our vessels may know one another. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, the motto 'Appeal to Heaven'? This is the flag of our floating batteries. We are fitting out two vessels at Plymouth, and when next I hear from you on this subject I will let them know the flag and signal, that we may distinguish our friends from our foes." To which General Moylan replied: "My schooner sailed this morning. As they had none but the old colors, we appointed them a signal that they may know each other by and be known as friends as the signal up the main topping lift."

It is true that Captain Manly hoisted a flag and made captures prior to Captain Barry. On the *Lee*, on November 29, 1775, under the authority of Washington and carrying the Pine Tree flag, Manly captured the *Nancy*, and on December 8 took the *Jenny* and the *Hannah*, vessels of supply to the British army in Boston. It is also true that in December, 1775, John Paul Jones hoisted on the *Alfred* a flag bearing the warning, "Don't Tread on Me;" but neither was the "flag of America," the "American flag." There was no American flag until Washington, on January 1, 1776, at Cambridge, Mass., raised the Union flag, as it was called, a flag used until the present form was adopted, in June, 1777, by striking out the British Union and substituting stars, one for each State in the Confederation. Under this flag Hopkins was the first to get to sea, and Barry's *Lexington*, bearing it, was the first to cause the British flag to surrender to the flag of Washington.

Commodore Hopkins' expedition sailed to New Providence, in the Bahamas. On March 17th—St. Patrick's

Day—he captured the town, eighty-eight cannon, fifteen mortars, and a great supply of ammunition and other stores. On that very same day Washington's army entered Boston, after obliging the British to evacuate. On April 11, the day Captain Barry reached Philadelphia with his prize, Hopkins arrived at New London with his prize stores and the Governor and other prominent men of New Providence as hostages.

It has been said that God works by curious coincidences. The observer of such singularities might also note that, as far as the career of Captain John Barry has been narrated, we learn that he abandoned the first employ and the command of the finest or first vessel in America to enter the first Continental naval service as the first Catholic appointed, and to the first of the first two vessels it purchased; that his cruiser was named after the first battle place of the Revolution, that it was the first commissioned to intercept supplies, the first equipped for service, and the first under the first Union flag to make the first capture that was the first reported to the Marine Committee of Congress. It may also be noted that Barry's ship, the *Black Prince*, became the *Alfred*, so named in honor of the first commander of the British Navy; that it was the first vessel of the first Continental fleet under its first commodore; that it was, as the *Black Prince*, named after the Prince of Wales of that title, the great warrior son and heir of the English King, Edward III., whose device was "a sun out of the clouds betokening that, although his courage and valor had hitherto been obscured from the world, he was now arising to glory and honor." So the new nation into whose service she had been transferred was, by her old commander, "beginning to make some little figure in the navy way;" our country's "sun was rising out of the clouds" of oppression through Barry's "courage and valor," and so he also was "arising to glory and honor."

Captain Barry's prize having been sold, he was sent on

May 8 by the Marine Committee down the Delaware to act in accordance with an order signed by Robert Morris, vice-president of the Committee, the original of which is in the collection of Mr. Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, and which says :

“ You are hereby directed to collect your officers and men and repair to the Provincial armed ship, Captain Read, and supply him with as many of your people as he may want to completely man that ship fit for immediate action. You will also spare any of them that may be wanted on board the Floating Battery, or on board the ship *Reprisal*, and in short we expect the utmost exertions from you, your officers and men in defending the pass at Fort Island, and to prevent them coming up to this city ; also that you will assist in taking, sinking and destroying the enemy if it is thought advisable to pursue them, of which the Committee of this Board now down the river will judge.—P. S. You may go down on the sloop *Hornet*, Captain Hallock. Capt. Thomas Read, by special commission, is the commander at the Chevaux de Frize.”

On May 9 Barry reported to Morris: “ I think—if the *Lexington* was fitted out to come down she might be of service, for the more there is the better. We shall keep them in play. If you think I shall be of more service here than up, I think she might be fitted by somebody up. Then some of the carpenters ought to be up there.—P. S. I think if Mr. Wharton was up he would soon get her ready.” The *Lexington* was got ready and placed under Barry's command in the lower Delaware.

On May 27, Henry Fisher, of Lewistown, writing to the Committee of Safety, reported that the *Roebuck* and the *Liverpool*, British frigates, were in and about the Bay. He said : “ I am persuaded that the *Liverpool* was scared away. Captains Barry and Alexander were over in our road in a few hours after she went. They went over to Cape May for the rest of the fleet, and now they are all

over under our Cape in quest of the pirates." ("Penna. Arch.," IV, 763.)

As commander of the first vessel of the fleet and as the first appointed officer, this quest of the "pirate" *Liverpool*, whose tender Barry had taken, is the first occasion on which he acted as Commodore or commander of a fleet. This was at a time, too, when the Navy did not officially exist as under the command of Hopkins. Congress was not satisfied with the results of the latter's expedition to New Providence; but, rather than dismiss him from the service, a reorganization of the Navy was, on April 17, resolved upon, and Hopkins was not reappointed. But Barry was, on June 6, assigned to the *Lexington*, then under his command in the Bay. He continued to cruise off the Capes of Delaware and Virginia, so as to afford protection to supply vessels coming to Philadelphia. On June 29 the brig *Nancy*, under Captain Montgomery, from St. Croix and St. Thomas, arrived off Cape May. She was loaded with 386 barrels of powder, fifty-five locks, 101 hogsheads of rum, sixty-two hogsheads of sugar, &c., all to the account of Congress. When near Cape May she was discovered by six British men-of-war, but received assistance from the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal* (Captain Wickes), and was run ashore, thus escaping capture (Force's "Amer. Archives," 1st Series, vol. V, p. 14).

Captain Barry continued to hover about the Bay for the purpose of assisting other vessels bringing supplies from the West Indies, France or Spain. At times he took a run out to sea, cruising in search of prey. From letters and reports we may but get a glimpse of how often he succeeded. Thus Cæsar Rodney, writing to Captain Thomas Rodney at Dover, Del., on August 3, said: "Yesterday came to town a ship belonging to the Congress from France with ten drums of powder, about forty drums of lead, and 1000 stand of arms, &c., and the same day an armed vessel taken by Captain Barry at sea (Force, I, V, p. 741). Barry, then, not only protected the friendly



French, but captured such of the enemy's vessels as he fell in with. Thus from friend and from enemy he added needed supplies.

Two days later, August 5, Josiah Bartlett, writing from Philadelphia to John Langdon said : " Captain Barry in the *Lexington*, one of the Continental vessels, has taken and sent in here a privateer of six gun-carriage guns commanded by another of those famous Goodriches of Virginia." (Force, I, V, 759.)

He remained in command of the *Lexington* until October 18, when she was assigned to Captain Henry Johnston (" Am. State Papers," 5th series, 1776 ; another account says Captain W. Hallock) and sent by the Secret Committee to Cape François to get supplies shipped from France for the use of the Americans. On September 18, 1777, the *Lexington*, when off the coast of France, was captured by the *Alert* after an engagement of three and a half hours. Her men were taken to Plymouth and imprisoned at Millbank. In the following February Johnston and others escaped.

Congress had, on October 10, 1776, established the rank and command of officers of the Navy as follows : 1, James Nicholson, to the *Virginia*, 28 guns ; 2, John Manly, to the *Hancock*, 32 guns ; 3, Hector McNiell, to the *Boston*, 24 guns ; 4, Dudley Saltonstall, to the *Trumbull*, 28 guns ; 5, Nicholas Biddle, to the *Randolph*, 32 guns ; 6, Thomas Thompson, to the *Raleigh*, 32 guns ; 7, John Barry, to the *Effingham*, 28 guns. There were twenty-four appointments, and, as will be seen, Captain Barry ranked as seventh. This assignment of rank afterwards occasioned agitation and discussion. In 1781 Captain John Paul Jones, who declared that " rank opens the door to glory," contested the assignment given to him. Having examined his claims, the Committee reported that " on October 10, 1776, there was an arrangement of Captains, but the Committee cannot fully ascertain the rule by which that arrangement was made, as the relative rank was not con-



formable to the times of appointment or dates of commission, and seems repugnant to a resolution of December 22, 1775." Jones said that, when the Navy was established in this year, some gentlemen declined to embark in the expedition; Captain Whipple had told him "they did not choose to be hanged." "It is certain," said Jones, "that at first the hazard was very great." Let us, then, give double honor to Captain John Barry, who, early, nay, at the beginning and in the first vessel, took the hazard "to be hanged," as did Jones also, who, as we have seen, was appointed at the same time.

The *Effingham*, Barry's new vessel, was named in honor of Lord Effingham, who resigned his commission in the British army rather than fight against the Americans. She had been built for the Pennsylvania State Navy in the summer of 1775 by Casdrop and Fullerton; and under State authority Allen Moore had been her captain, with Benj. Thompson and John Hennessy as lieutenants. On November 15, 1776, the pay of captains of ships of twenty guns or more was fixed at sixty dollars a month, which, of course, was Barry's compensation. The uniform for captains prescribed by the Marine Committee on September 5, 1776, was: Blue cloth with red lapels, slash cuff, stand-up collar, flat yellow buttons, blue breeches, red waistcoat with yellow lace (Preble, p. 234).

On Saturday, November 30, 1776, an address from Captains John Barry, Nicholas Biddle, Thomas Read, Charles Alexander and John Nicholson was brought before Congress and read. It was ordered to be laid before the Marine Committee, who were directed to pursue such measures as they might think proper in consequence thereof (Force IV, 3d, 1594). Nothing appears to show the contents or character of the letter. This, the circumstances of the time and the reference to the Committee seem to indicate that the address proposed to place the naval force as an aid to Washington's sorely pressed soldiery. The main body of his army was then in New

Jersey, having crossed from New York on the 12th, leaving two large detachments to hold Forts Lee and Washington. But by the time the address had reached Congress, these two forts, the bulwark of the Hudson, had been lost, and the sad and gloomy, but marvellously strategic, retreat across New Jersey was being conducted by Washington, pursued by Cornwallis. The fleet protecting the approach to Philadelphia and operating in the lower Delaware had been recalled. The upper Delaware was soon to become the centre of action and the place where God's providence was so strikingly manifested on that cold Christmas night of 1776 soon to follow.

Captain Barry at once recruited a company for service on land, and doubtless most of his crew stood by him in this new line of endeavor for freedom. For those were indeed perilous times, "the times that tried men's souls," and Barry was equal to the emergency, even when Washington was forced to exclaim in that almost despairing wail: "In ten days this army will have ceased to exist . . . We are at the end of our tether!" All seemed lost. The hour of defeat, dismay and destruction was about to strike. The timid, the faint-hearted, the treacherous were fast going over to British allegiance. "At last the old fox (Washington) is in a trap," said Cornwallis. A day's freezing of the waters of the Delaware would bring the complete destruction of the "rebel army." Why not sit down and, amid Christmas festivity, wait nature's alliance in the waters? Why harass Hessians building boats and rafts to cross to the other side? There need be no concern nor haste—"the fox was in the trap;" and that Declaration of Independence proclaimed in hot July as a concentrated threat and defiance to tyranny as well as earth's noblest resolve for freedom would in a brief six months be like Nature's garb this chill December—cold in death.

But such the result was not to be. To the Colonial cause had been given the man who was to lead the people

out of bondage and through the desert to security and peace in the promised land of freedom. Look through all the writings of Washington in all the days of the mighty struggle, and see how firm and strong was his faith in the justice of the cause and his reliance on Divine Providence in "the times that tried men's souls," as the crisis of December, '76, was described by a man of little faith, *the* pamphleteer of the Revolution, Thomas Paine. The brave men who stood by Washington amid the disasters in the Jerseys were tried; and no less so were the noble-hearted ones beyond his lines. But in that dark hour, when everything seemed all but lost, Thomas Fitzsimmons, a merchant, and Captain Barry, a seaman, one in faith as they were one in country of nativity, were now one in endeavor for their adopted land. Each organized a company of volunteers to hasten to the aid of Washington on the banks of the Delaware above Trenton. And when Washington crossed the ice-blocked river these two Philadelphia Catholics did the duty of patriots and heroes in the strife that won the victories at Trenton and Princeton. They went "to the front" to uphold the Declaration of Independence, when all who had pledged their "lives, their fortunes and sacred honor," excepting alone the Quaker John Dickinson, had fled beyond the immediate reach of British power; and but for the militia of Pennsylvania they might, in the general wreck and carnage made by that power, have felt the full force of its vindictiveness.

Captain John Barry, then, led a company of marines, under Captain William Brown, and took part in the battle of Princeton, on January 2, 1777; and he remained attached to the army until the 23d of the same month ("Penn. Arch.," 2d series, vol. I, p. 234). On this day Washington wrote from Middlebrook to General Joseph Reed: "The spirited manner in which the militia of Pennsylvania turned out upon the late manœuvre of the enemy has, in my opinion, given a greater shock to the

enemy than any event which has happened in the course of this dispute, because it was altogether unexpected and gave the decisive stroke to the enterprise on Philadelphia" (Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. V, p. 196). The minutes of the Pennsylvania Board of War, under date of March 27, 1777, have this record: "Mr. Moses Young was directed to pay Jesse Howe £6, 19, 9 for the use of the volunteers in Captain Barry's company when going to camp in December last; to be charged to Congress" ("Penna. Arch.," 2d series, vol. I, p. 20).

Captain Barry, while in service in New Jersey, acted as an aide to General Cadwallader, and as such became, on one occasion of which there is record, an aide to Washington on special service, as is shown by the American Commander-in-chief's answer to a request for a truce made by General Cornwallis. Writing from Morristown on January 8, after giving assurance that a relief convoy bringing assistance to the Hessians taken and wounded at Trenton and Princeton would not be molested by his regular soldiers, but that he could not answer for the militia, who were "exceedingly exasperated at the treatment they have met with from both Hessian and British troops," Washington said: "I therefore thought it most desirable to direct Captain Barry, the bearer of this, to give a safe conduct to the Hessian baggage as far as Philadelphia and the surgeon and medicines to Princeton."

Having failed in their effort to reach the rebel capital, Philadelphia, by way of New Jersey, the British changed their plan of campaign for 1777, and formed the design of reaching this city from the south by way of Chesapeake Bay. It is now known that the plan was suggested by General Charles Lee when a prisoner in New York. This latter-day revelation of his treason, as well as that of Silas Deane, removes their names from the list of the patriot host, and places them on the brief list of known traitors. As the British plan became evident, Washing-



ton, keeping a force in North Jersey to watch the enemy in New York, moved his main body southward to intercept the British in their northward march to Philadelphia. Brandywine was fought and lost, and the British march was but feebly stayed. Philadelphia became alarmed. Orders were given to remove all war material. Refugees hastened to the country. General Duccoudray, a French volunteer in the American army, was drowned on September 16, while crossing the Schuylkill, and next day Congress resolved to bury him with the honors of war at the public expense. Amid all the confusion the funeral services were held at St. Mary's. Next day Congress fled from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and the Quaker City was virtually in possession of the enemy, though they did not enter it until the 26th, and amid the acclaiming welcome of the people who had remained. In the meantime Washington was manœuvring on the outskirts of Philadelphia. The Germantown fight had not been a victory, but it proved that the spirit of resistance and of attack still predominated. The Americans retreated towards Whitemarsh, and yet farther backwards towards Valley Forge.

In November information from Philadelphia caused Washington to notify the Continental Navy Board, then meeting at Bordentown, N. J., for there was danger of a force being sent to destroy the fleet in the upper Delaware. He directed that the vessels then above Philadelphia should be sunk.

Captain Barry was then in the upper Delaware. Two days before the entry of Lord Howe's army into Philadelphia he had moved the *Effingham* to White Hill, now Fieldsborough, one mile below Bordentown. In a letter dated Bordentown, November 2, from Francis Hopkinson and John Wharton, of the Continental Navy Board, this instruction was given to him: "As we understand your ship is now scuttled and ready for sinking, you are hereby directed to remove her a little below White Hill,



and having found a suitable birth (sic) where she may lye on a soft bottom and be easily got off at a common tide, you are to sink her there without delay. We expect this business will be completed by sunset this evening and report thereof made to this Board." This order was not obeyed until the 30th, as will hereafter appear, when the consequences growing out of the order and delay will be related.

On November 25 Captain Barry presided at a court-martial held on board the ship *Lyon* for the trial of John Stewart, master's mate of the *Repulse*, James Leddie, master-at-arms of the same ship, who were charged with deserting their posts in sight of the enemy, and John Pemberton, armorer, John Campbell, quartermaster, and Michael Tarney, a boy, charged with deserting in sight of the enemy, and taking a boat with four muskets and cartridges in company with Stewart and Leddie. They were found guilty, and all except Tarney were ordered to be hanged off the yard-arm of any Continental vessel. Tarney, "being a boy and called out of his bed," was sentenced to "receive 36 lashes on his bare back with a cat of nine tails." Captain Barry approved of the finding, and forwarded the verdict to the Marine Committee, which, on December 30, reported to Congress in favor of the culprits' pardon on condition that they enlist as privates during the war, in which Congress concurred.

On December 11 the Navy Board at Bordentown complained to Congress, then at York, Pa., of the "disrespect and ill treatment which one of the said Board lately received from John Barry, commander of the frigate *Effingham*." On the 30th the Marine Committee, to whom the communication had been referred, reported to Congress, whereupon it was resolved that Captain John Barry be required immediately to attend Congress to answer the complaint made against him, and that he be furnished with an extract from the letter of the Navy Board as far as it related to the said complaint. Congress further

resolved that it was "the duty of all officers of the navy to pay obedience to the Navy Board and to treat its members with decency and respect. The Board was empowered to suspend any officer refusing to obey anyone who treated them with disrespect or indecency."

## CHAPTER II.

### BARRY'S DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGES OF THE NAVY BOARD—NARROW ESCAPE FROM DISMISSAL —DARING ATTACK ON BRITISH VESSELS OFF PORT PENN—CORRESPONDENCE WITH WASHINGTON ABOUT OPERA- TIONS THERE.

The accused naval officer obeyed the summons to go to York for trial, and on arriving there wrote a statement in his own defence which was printed in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. III, pp. 202-4 (1857), and the original of which is now in the collection of Charles Roberts, Esq., of Philadelphia. It was contributed to the periodical by the late Robert C. Davis, a non-Catholic member of the American Catholic Historical Society, who wrote to the magazine in connection with its publication: "This is without doubt written by John Paul Jones and signed by Barry, which original is in my possession and has never before appeared in print. It was found among the effects of the late Commodore. . . . It is to be presumed that under the alarming state of the naval affairs of the 'Rebels', it was advisable to heal all breaches of trouble for the good of the general cause." The letter reads as follows:

YORK, January 10, 1778.

GENTLEMEN: Having been ordered to attend Congress to answer a complaint of the Navy Board, I now beg leave to lay before your Honors the following facts, which I can

prove, and which I hope will set my conduct in a fairer point of view in the eyes of your Honors, than that in which the Navy Board have placed it. On or about the 24th of November last (1777) I received an order from the Board, desiring a return of the men on board my ship, the *Effingham*, which I instantly complied with. Two or three days afterward verbal orders came to Whitehall for Captain Read and myself to attend the Board at Bordentown immediately. This we complied with, traveling two miles in the midst of a heavy rain. Having waited on Mr. Hopkinson, he gave orders, in writing, to prepare our ships immediately for sinking or burning, which he delivered to me as senior officer, and I, on going out, communicated to Captain Read. We returned to Whitehall, where our ships lay, and began clearing them of their stores and material ; but, as Captain Read was in want of hands, he went up the next day to Bordentown to hire some, and on his return informed me that Mr. Wharton had told him the frigates should be sunk that night or next morning. It is necessary for me to inform your Honors that, previous to the receipt of orders for sinking, Captain Read and myself had taken every measure to defend our vessels from all attempts of the enemy, and those measures, we are morally certain, would have been effectual in repelling any force the enemy could have sent up the river to take possession of or to destroy our ships. The *Washington* had on board thirteen guns, twelves, sixes, and four-pounders. I had on board my ship (the *Effingham*) ten guns,—part of these guns we had collected from the merchant vessels, then up at Bordentown, which they readily gave us for our defense. We had also enrolled eighty good men on board each of our frigates, partly collected from the said merchant vessels, and ready for action at the shortest notice. Besides, we had expectations of getting men from the shallops that were coming down from Trenton. I had one of my boats with a three-pounder in her, and Captain Read's barge ready for lookout-boats ;

added to this, a heavy fresh in the river, occasioned by the great rain which fell at that time, made it impossible for the enemy's boats to come up. Being conscious of the secure situation of our ships, we thought it our duty to expostulate with the Navy Board before they were rashly destroyed, and for that purpose we waited on the said Board, and communicated the precautions we had taken; and added that, were General Washington fully acquainted with the security of the ships, he would not order them sunk, and, further, that they might be made ready for sinking should the worst happen. I then offered to go to his Excellency the General, and give him full information of all that had been done. Mr. Hopkinson answered that the Board had already wrote the General the ships should be sunk, and that sooner than they should disobey one jot of his orders they would rather the whole thirteen frigates should be sunk.\* I think it necessary at this period to exculpate myself from a charge which the Navy Board, in the extract of their letter furnished me by order of Congress, has laid against me, viz. :—"In the presence of several strangers, he, in the most indecent terms, refused to execute our orders." Now I do aver that the following conversation passed only in the presence of Captain Read and the Board. Mr. Hopkinson informed us that His Excellency the General had been informed by a lad from Philadelphia that the enemy were preparing boats, and the frigates might possibly be their object. I assured him that boats could not board us. He replied he would take General Washington's opinion sooner than mine. I told him I did not doubt that, but that nevertheless I knew more about a ship than General Washington and the Navy Board together, and they that ordered my ship sunk, unless by direction of the Marine Committee, I should protest against; that I was commissioned by Congress to command her, and therefore expected to be consulted be-

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\* Meaning the thirteen frigates ordered by Congress, of which the *Washington* and *Effingham* were two.



fore she was destroyed. Mr. Hopkinson replied, "You shall obey our orders"; upon which I left him. (Of course in high dudgeon.) I leave it to your Honors to judge wherein are the indecent terms in which I refused to execute the orders of the Board. I immediately repaired to my ship, got all clear, and acquainted the Board of it the 30th of November last. A few hours afterward Mr. Hopkinson came down to Whitehall with an order to haul the ships on shore, and sink them by sunset. This was a wrong time of the tide, yet the orders were punctually obeyed.

Not satisfied with giving the orders, Mr. Hopkinson came on board my ship himself, and as soon as she struck the ground he ordered the plugs out, and the water ran in so fast we could not heel the ship to the bank, in consequence of which she lay down on her beam ends, and was very near oversetting.

The next morning I went to Bordentown, and acquainted the Board with the situation of the ship. I was told it was a misfortune, and that we must do the best to remedy it. I informed them that nothing on my part should be wanting. The Board then gave me verbal orders to hire all the hands I wanted, which I found to be a very difficult matter, being obliged to coax them and pay extravagant wages. I made two efforts at different times to raise the ship, but without success. Having concluded on making a third trial, I had occasion to send to the Board for some things which were necessary for that purpose. When I received for answer that Mr. Hopkinson would come down and raise her himself. This insult I overlooked, having the getting up of the ship much at heart. Accordingly I took all the purchases I could think of, and got everything ready. About ten o'clock I sent up to the Navy Board for as many of Colonel Nicholas's invalids as they could send, the day having then cleared up (it snowing in the morning) pretty moderate. In the interim I collected all the seamen I could, and began to heave upon the purchases. About one



o'clock a sergeant and six or seven of the invalids came to my assistance.

I think it necessary to acquaint your Honors that in the two former attempts to raise the ship I had from twenty to twenty-five of these men, and was much disappointed to see so few of them on this occasion, and asked the sergeant the reason. He told me that Messrs. Hopkinson and Wharton had ordered him to bring such of the men as were well-attired. However, with this supply I set to work with as much ardor as possible. After some time Mr. Hopkinson came running out, saying,—“Captain Barry, doth she rise?”

“No, sir; how can she rise when you keep the people back?” “Poh,” says he, “you are always grumbling!”

“What do you say?” “Go along,” says he, “and mind your own business, you scoundrel!” “It is a lie!” says Barry.

“What! do you tell me I lie?” he replied.

“It was a lie in them that said so.”

I then called the sergeant who brought the men, when he repeated that the Board had given him orders to bring the well-clothed men down; upon which Mr. Hopkinson told me he would bring me to account for this. My answer was, “Damn you, I don’t value you more than my duty requires.”

“Sir,” says he, “you never minded your duty.” I immediately told him he was “a liar,” and that the Continental Congress knew that I had minded my duty, and added that had he minded his duty as well, this ship would not be in her present condition. Mr. Hopkinson retired, and I pursued my business until one of the purchases gave way. This, gentlemen, is a true relation, and I submit to your Honors’ judgment how far my conduct has been blameable. I shall only add that it has been a principal study with me to behave with the greatest respect to the Navy Board ever since their appointment, and I would just suggest to your Honors whether the good of the service

does not require the Captains of the Navy to be treated with complaisance as gentlemen, as long as they observe their duty? For my part, I should think myself unworthy of the commission the Honorable Congress has been pleased to give me could I tamely put up with different treatment.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most ob't humble servant,

JOHN BARRY.

Mr. Hopkinson evidently made reply, as the "Journal of Congress" for January 29, 1778, records that "a letter from F. Hopkinson, one of the Committee of the Navy Board, concerning the conduct of Captain Barry was read, when it was moved that Captain Barry be not employed on the expedition assigned to his conduct by the Marine Committee with the approbation of Congress until further order of Congress." The question was put, and the States were equally divided, whereupon Congress adjourned until ten o'clock next day. Had an adverse majority vote been given and Barry "not employed on the expedition assigned to his conduct," perhaps Washington might not have been cheered by results equal to those which Captain Barry won in "the expedition," which was so signal as to win Washington's special thanks sent from amid the desolation of Valley Forge. To have strengthened the heart of Washington then secured for Barry an honor glorious to his fame. The "spirit of enterprise" aroused in him the resolve to prove his ability to harass and weaken the enemy, then in possession of his city and his home, even though he was amenable to censure for disrespect to authority. His ship, the *Effingham*, lay at the bottom of the Delaware, off White Hill, N. J. Learning that British vessels bringing supplies to the enemy in Philadelphia were off Port Penn in the lower Delaware, he determined to make an attempt to capture or destroy them. But the "spirit

of enterprise" in him enabled him to demonstrate to the Supreme Executive Council, then at Lancaster, the feasibility of harassing the enemy in the lower Delaware; and he encouraged the Council to endeavor to have the State's Navy coöperate and share in the effort. Accordingly, on February 7, the Council wrote to the Navy Board, then at Burlington, N. J., saying:

"It has been suggested that it is practicable to annoy the enemy in the river below Philadelphia with Barges called Guard Boats. A spirit of enterprise in this way has discovered itself in Captain Barry and other officers of the Continental Navy, and other persons, particularly in the Delaware. This State promises considerable advantage to the adventurous as well as to the public. Application has been made to Council by Captain Dougherty, and Mr. John Naghton, requesting to be permitted to have two of the boats to fit out for this purpose. Their request would have been readily granted but that Council waited to find Captain Barry's example inducing the officers and men of our fleet for a time specified. Their public exertions we would wish to encourage and reward, asking the use of those barges, on the same footing that others offer to take them—that is to say, to give security for the safe return of the boats, find men and victuals and take all they get from the enemy, giving security and acting under commission as privateers. If any benefit can arise from a plan of this kind, it ought to be to the officers and men who have signalized themselves in the time of danger. Council therefore direct you to permit as many of the Boats as may be spared to be fitted out immediately on the terms aforesaid by our officers and others." Then follow detailed regulations as to commissions, etc.; and from what followed it is clear that they were carried out.

But while Captain Barry was destroying the forage of the enemy Congress still left the charges against him undetermined. We have seen how, by a tie vote, the

command was not taken from him. It would seem, however, that his friends, noting how near he had come to being dismissed, agreed to accept a vote of censure. Accordingly, in Congress, on February 21, the Marine Committee, to whom was referred the complaint of the Navy Board against him, reported as their opinion "that Captain Barry hath treated the said Board, in the person of Mr. Hopkinson, one of the Board, with indecency and disrespect, and that he ought, within twenty days after this resolve shall have been notified to him by the said Board, make full acknowledgment as shall be satisfactory to them." After the agreement of Congress to this resolve nothing further appears in official records concerning the affront given to authority. It may be presumed, then, that Captain Barry complied with the official desire of Congress. Doubtless he resolved to so manifest "the spirit of enterprise" in serving his country as to make ample reparation for any "disrespect" he had shown. So one night in February, 1778, with twenty-seven men in four row boats, he came down from above Burlington, and, succeeding in passing Philadelphia unmolested by its British occupants, he went as far as Port Penn in the lower Delaware, and there captured two ships, the *Mermaid* and the *Kitty*, and a schooner, the *Alert*, all laden with forage and supplies for the army. After stripping the two ships he burned them, and sent their supplies northward through New Jersey. But British cruisers, ever alert off the Capes, discovered Barry at work and attacked him. He was obliged to run the schooner ashore, but held possession of her, however, and was authorized by the Marine Committee, on March 12, to make the purchases necessary to fit her out for service.

In Abbott's "Blue Jackets of '76" is given the following account of Barry's operations in the Delaware just referred to summarily: "The Delaware, along the water front of Philadelphia, was the scene of some dashing work



by American sailors, under the command of Captain John Barry. This officer was in command of the 'Effingham,' one of the vessels which had been trapped in the Delaware by the unexpected occupation of Philadelphia by the British. The inactivity of the vessels, which had taken refuge at Whitehall [White Hill], was a sore disappointment to Barry, who longed for the excitement and danger of actual battle. With the British in force at Philadelphia it was madness to think of taking the frigates down the stream. But Barry rightly thought that what could not be done with a heavy ship might be done with a few light boats.

"Philadelphia was then crowded with British troops. The soldiers were well supplied with money, and, finding themselves well quartered in the city for the winter, led a life of continual gayety. The great accession to the population of the town made it necessary to draw upon the country far and near for provisions; and boats were continually carrying provisions to the city. To intercept some of these, and to give the merry British officers a taste of starvation, was Barry's plan.

"Accordingly four boats were manned with well armed crews and with muffled oars set out on a dark night to patrol the river. Philadelphia was reached and the expedition was almost past the city when the sentries on one of the British men-of-war gave the alarm. A few scattering shots were fired from the shore; but the jackies bent to their oars, and the boats were soon lost to sight in the darkness. When day broke Barry was far down the river.

"Opposite the little post held by the American army and called Port Penn, Barry spied a large schooner, mounting ten guns and flying the British flag. With her were four transport ships loaded with forage for the enemy's forces. Though the sun had risen, and it was broad day, Barry succeeded in running his boats alongside the schooner; and before the British suspected the presence of any enemy, the blue-jackets were clambering over the rails,



cutlass and pistol in hand. There was no resistance. The astonished Englishmen threw down their arms and rushed below. The victorious Americans battered down the hatches, ordered the four transports to surrender, and, on pain of being fired into, triumphantly carried all five prizes to the piers of Port Penn. There the hatches were removed, to permit the prisoners to come on deck. When all appeared it was found the Yankees had bagged one major, two captains, three lieutenants, ten soldiers, and about one hundred sailors and marines—a very respectable haul for a party of not more than thirty American sailors.

“The next day a British frigate and sloop-of-war appeared down the bay. They were under full sail, and were apparently making for Port Penn, with the probable intention of recapturing Barry’s prizes. Fearing that he might be robbed of the fruits of his victory, Barry put the four transports in charge of Capt. Middleton, with instructions to fire them should the enemy attempt to cut them out. In the meantime, he took the ten-gun schooner, and made for the Christiana River, in the hopes of taking her into shallow waters, whither the heavier British vessels could not follow. But, unluckily for his plans, the wind favored the frigate; and she gained upon him so rapidly that only by the greatest expedition could he run his craft ashore and escape. Two of the guns were pointed down the main hatch, and a few rounds of round-shot were fired through the schooner’s bottom. She sunk quickly; and the Americans pushed off from her side, just as the British frigate swung into position, and let fly her broadside at her escaping foes.

“The schooners being thus disposed of, the British turned their attention to the four captured transports at Port Penn. Captain Middleton and Captain McLane, who commanded the American militia on shore, had taken advantage of the delay to build a battery of bales of hay near the piers. The British sloop-of-war opened the attack, but the sharpshooters in the battery and on the transport gave her so warm



THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA,

To, John Barry.

I GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, expressing special Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Fidelity and Abilities have nominated, and lay and with the Advice and Consent of the SENATE, appointed you Captain in the NAVY of the UNITED STATES, and Commander of the FRIGATE called UNITED STATES; to take Rank from 1<sup>st</sup> Decr. twentieth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety four. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain and Commander by doing and performing all manner of things therein belonging. And I strictly charge and require all Officers, Marines, and Seamen under your command to be obedient to you as Captain and Commander. And you are to observe and follow such rules, orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from the President of the United States, or any superior officer set over you according to the rules and discipline of War and the usage of the Sea.

THIS COMMISSION is continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States

Given under my hand at Philadelphia, this twenty second day of February, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and at the Secretary and Independence of the United States the twenty first

By the President,

James M. Henry

Secretary of War

Registered

John Barry, Esq.

No. One.

J. M. Henry

a reception that she retired. She soon returned to the attack, but was checked by the Americans' fire, and might have been beaten off had not Middleton received a mortal wound while standing on the battery and cheering on his men. Dismayed by the fall of their leader, the Americans set fire to the transport and fled to the woods, leaving the British masters of the field.

"Barry's conduct in his enterprise won for him the admiration of friends and foes alike. Sir William Howe, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, offered the daring American twenty thousand guineas and the command of a British frigate if he would desert the service of the United States. 'Not the value and command of the whole British fleet,' wrote Barry in reply, 'can seduce me from the cause of my country.'

"After this adventure Barry and his followers made their way through the woods back to White Hill, where his ship, the *Effingham*, was lying at anchor. At White Hill and near that place were nearly a dozen armed ships, frigates, sloops and privateers. All had fled thither for safety when the British took Philadelphia, and now found themselves caught in a trap. To run the blockade of the British batteries and men-of-war at Philadelphia was impossible; and there was nothing to do but wait until the enemy should evacuate the city."

The above and other accounts of Barry's operations do not set forth that perhaps for two months Barry remained on the Delaware below Philadelphia harassing the enemy and destroying forage and provisions. The annexed letters show him at Port Penn on February 26, after having destroyed the forage all the way from Mantua Creek to Port Penn, that two ships and a schooner were on March 7 captured by him at Port Penn, and that as late as April 11 he reported to Washington from Wilmington. Allowing, then, for time prior to February 26, during which he was destroying the forage from Mantua Creek to Port Penn, from which he reported to Washington, it is evident that

Barry spent at least two months below Philadelphia annoying and punishing the British.

On March 12 the Marine Committee, as has been said, laid before Congress, among other things, a copy of a proposed letter to Captain Barry empowering him to purchase, for the use of the Committee, and to fit out a vessel which he had lately taken in Delaware Bay; and Congress resolved to "approve of the purchase being made and that it be referred to the Marine Committee to give such directions as they judge proper respecting the name, officers and manning of the vessel when purchased and the manner in which she is to be employed."

If it be true that General Howe ever offered Barry a command in the British Navy if he would desert the cause of the Colonies and that Barry replied that the command of the whole British Navy would not induce him to abandon the cause of liberty, it is probable that such offer was made and spurned after this enterprise at Port Penn. While I have found no direct evidence of such an offer—which is rarely to be had in such cases—yet there is a possibility that the offer was made. Captain Barry's daring and success were known, of course, to the British commander, who felt the loss which Barry had inflicted. Barry's former employer, Thomas Willing, remained in Philadelphia during the British occupation. After the war Willing was charged with inducing one John Brown to enter upon the service of General Howe for the purpose of making secret offers to members of Congress to get them to make peace on other terms than Independence. If, then, Howe ever made the proposition to Barry, it is probable that he did so through Brown, who declared that it was Willing who induced him to convey to members of Congress an expression of the British commander's wishes. What is more likely than that Howe may have sent a message to Willing's former employee, Captain Barry, that a high position in the British Navy awaited him, together with £20,000? Barry's brother-in-law, William



Austin, a Loyalist, was then in Philadelphia, as we shall see.

That "the spirit of enterprise" in Captain Barry brought gratifying results is shown by the correspondence which I now proceed to give. On February 26 Barry wrote to Washington at Valley Forge a letter which is here copied from the original in the Government Archives at Washington (Vol. XXII, p. 52):

"SIR: According to the orders of General Wayne I have Destroyed the Forage from Mantua Creek to this Place the Quantity Destroyed is about four Hundred Tons and should have Proceeded farther had not a Number of the Enemies Boats appeared in Sight and Lining the Jersey Shore Deprived us of the Opportunity of Proceeding Farther on the same purpose. Shall Remit to Your Excellency the Names of the Persons Whose property was Destroyed and Likewise the Quantity of Each, have thought Proper to Detain four of Your Men to assist in getting the Boats away as some of My Men are Rendered Incapable of Proceeding thro Fatigue. But shall again Remit by the First Order of Your Excellency having no farther Occasion for the Remaining Part of the Detachment under My Command have thought proper to Discharge them & am Sir with Due Respect Your Excellency's Mos<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>bl</sup> Servant,

JOHN BARRY."

And from Port Penn, on March 9, he thus "reported progress" to the same high authority:

"DEAR GENERAL: 'Tis with the Greatest Satisfaction Imaginable I inform You of Capturing two Ships & a schooner of the Enemy, the two Ships were Transports from Rhode Island Loaded with forage One Mounting Six four Pounders with fourteen hands Each the Schooner is in the Engineering Department Mounting Eight Double fortified four Pounders & twelve four Pound howitz Prop-

erly fitted in Every Particular & Manned with thirty-three men Among the Prisoners is a Lieutenant in the same Department with the Schooner the Lieutenant together with the Captain of the Schooner Being verry Solicitous for the Liberty of a Fortnight thought Proper By the Advices of Nicholas Vandyke Esq<sup>r</sup> (a Member of Congress) to allow them their Parole for a fortnight to Go to Philadelphia with some Officers Lady's that were taken on the Schooner. the Schooner is a Most Excellent Vessel for our Purpose & as there Are a Number of Ships Expected in under verry Little Convoy with the farther assistance of about forty men should Give a verry Good Account of them, As the Enemy are Greatly Necessiated for want of Forage, the Schooner is unloaded But had not as Yet the Manifest of the Cargo. But are a Number of Engineering Tools on Board. Shall Give You a Circumstantial Account of the Whole Cargo as soon as Possible By the Bearer Mr. John Chilton have sent you a Cheese Together with a Jar of Pickled Oysters which Crave Your Acceptance Should have Remitted the Particulars Together with the Letters & Dispatch for General Dehesters Before But a fleet of the Enemy's Small Vessels appearing in Sight Obligated me to Burn One of the Ships & am afraid the Other will share the same fate Discharging her But am Determined to hold the Schooner at all Events Inclosed You have the Articles of the Schooners Capitulation as we Sent a flag on Board her After Boarding the two Ships & am Sir with Due Respect," &c.

The original of the above letter is in Vol. XXII of the Washington Papers, at p. 127, and at p. 119 are the "Articles of Capitulation agreed upon Between Capt. Morse of the Schooner Alert in His Britannick Majesty's Service & Capt. John Barry on the Part of the United States," which provided that "Every Lady in the Ship is to have their Baggage &c Belonging to their own Private Property—The Lady's are to Be Sent to Philadelphia By the

first Conveyance The Men to Remain Prisoners of War 'till Exchanged—Dilworth the Pilot to Be held as a Prisoner of War On these Conditions I Deliver up the Schooner *Alert*."

Nor was Washington slow in reporting Barry's doings to Congress; for on March 12 he wrote from Valley Forge to that body, saying: "I have great pleasure to transmit to you an extract of a letter from Captain Barry which will inform you of his successes. The two ships he burned after stripping them; and he was obliged, it seems, two days after the capture to ground and abandon the schooner, after a long and severe engagement with some of the frigates and small armed vessels. It is said he saved her guns and most of her tackle" ('Letters,' vol. XI, p. 197). On the same day he answered the second letter from the naval hero himself, thus: "I have received your favor of the 9th inst., and congratulate you on the success which has crowned your gallantry . . . in the late attack upon the enemy's ships. Although circumstances have prevented you from reaping the full benefit of your conquests, yet there is ample consolation in the degree of glory which you have acquired. You will be pleased to accept my thanks for the good things which you were so polite as to send me, with my wishes that a suitable recompense may always attend your bravery" (Sparks' "Writings of Washington," vol. V, p. 271). In Frost's "Naval Biography" it is said of this attack on the enemy's ships: "For boldness of design and dexterity of execution it was not surpassed, if equalled, during the war."

On March 20 Barry wrote again to the Commander-in-Chief (Washington Papers, vol. XXII, p. 207), this time from Wilmington, Del.:

"DEAR GENERAL: Inclosed You have an Invoice of the Goods taken from on Board the Schooner *Alert* & Ships *Mermaid* and *Kitty* the Intrenching Tools You mentioned are stolen by the Inhabitants together with about one fourth Part of the Cargo taken out of the

Vessels I should be much obliged to Your Excellency to Appoint some Person at Middletown or Order them to purchase what things you may Judge necessary for the Army as I wish they may have the Preference the Capturers in General Expect the Articles to be sold at Public Sale in about ten days from this Date, I likewise send You a Rough Draft of New York Island which Probably may be of Service to You.

“The enemy have forty sail of Vessels up Salem Creek & about thirty more on the Delaware abreast of the Creek. They have from the Best information I Can collect about fifteen hundred Men Landed & am Satisfied their Intent is for Stock and forage Shall by the Earliest Opportunity Transmit to Your Excellency Every movement of the Enemy I Possibly Can Collect.” On April 6 he wrote from Middletown, Md. (*Ibid.*, p. 301): “Inclosed is a bill of sundry Articles purchased at the Sales here for your Excellency which two bid in high, hope will please you; I should have compleated the whole of your Excellency’s Mem<sup>n</sup> had it been in my power. Major Burnet purchased all the Knives & forks to be equally divided between your Excellency & General Green. You will please to send the Marshall the Amo<sup>t</sup> of the Inclosed bill by the same hand that brings the Money for the Articles purchased by Major Burnet.” Again from Wilmington he wrote to Washington on April 11 (*Ibid.*, p. 303): “I send by bearer the things I have Purchased for Your Excellency. It would have given me great pleasure to have had it in my power to have Complated the whole, but some of them selling so high and thees not good was the Occasion the men show him that Your Excellency Ordered me Camp wants close and they Grumble Very Much about it. I fear there is some of them that will not stay unless the can be supplied with them—I think in a little time our Crusing will be At an end but I want to have one sweep more among them before we give up, we have been unhappily blocked up here for this few days

past but if the Men stay will be out in a few days—should be glad if your Excellency would let me know the time you wood want the Men and the Greatest care shall be taken that they join their Respective Regiments—Your Excellency will oblige me very much if you will desire General Varnum to send the men and Close by the Bearer as soon as possible if He dont Come soon it will brak up my crusing which I should be very sorry for as I think we can be of use for some little time yet.”

### CHAPTER III.

MRS. BARRY'S MOVEMENTS—THE BRITISH DESTROY THE SUNKEN SHIPS AT BORDENTOWN—THEY EVACUATE PHILADELPHIA—BARRY PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE “RALEIGH” AT BOSTON—IS PURSUED BY TWO BRITISH VESSELS—AFTER A GALLANT FIGHT HE IS BEATEN, BUT ESCAPES TO THE MAINLAND—PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE SHIP “DELAWARE”—CAPTURES THE “HARLEM”—FAMOUS ENCOUNTER WITH THE CONTINENTAL FRIGATE “CONFEDERACY”—BARRY PLACED IN COMMAND OF THE UNITED STATES SHIP “ALLIANCE.

While Captain Barry was thus so successfully serving his country, Mrs. Barry and other refugees were at Reading. Her brother, William Austin, was a Tory and then in the English service. When he was captured Captain Barry wrote to Washington asking that he be exchanged. On February 16, 1778, Colonel Henry Haller, writing from Reading to President Wharton, of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, reported that Reynold Keen had gone over to the enemy, and asked if it would be proper to order the family to Philadelphia, where their friends the British were. “Mrs. Barry, sister to Mr. Keen,



desires to know whether she could not be permitted to keep for Mr. Keen some of the Kitchen furniture and bedding for the children, and in case she should buy any of the goods at the vendue on Saturday next, at which time I propose to sell, unless orders come from you to the contrary, will she be allowed to send them to Philadelphia to Mr Keen?" On the 18th, President Wharton replied: "If Mrs. Barry chuses to take care of the children, the Council can have no objection to it or to her purchasing anything she may chuse to pay for; but as to taking furniture or other things, except decent clothing, to Philadelphia, it would be highly improper, as General Howe refuses such liberty to our people who are in the city" ("Penna. Arch.," 2d Series, vol. I, pp. 176-8). Mrs. Barry was sister-in-law to Reynold Keen, who had married Christiana Stillé (who died at Reading on December 5, 1777), the daughter of his second cousin, Sarah Keen, by her first husband, John Stillé, and half sister to Sarah Austin, daughter of the same Sarah Keen by her second husband, Samuel Austin, who married Captain John Barry. Reynold Keen, however, took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania on October 11, 1779.

The daring and success of Barry's operations in the lower Delaware made the British revengeful. His vessel, the *Effingham*, was raised from "the soft bottom" of the river. On May 7, 1778, a force, under Major Maitland, was sent on an expedition up the Delaware. They burned the *Washington*, 32, the *Effingham*, 28 guns, and other vessels, numbering in all twenty-one or more. The *Pennsylvania Ledger* of May 13, thus reports the movement:

"Last Thursday night four gallies, an armed brig and a schooner, with a detachment of light infantry in boats, went up the river. On Friday the troops were landed near White Hill, where a show of resistance was made by about 50 light horse and a like number of militia, who were instantly dispersed with the loss of several men and four pieces of cannon which were demolished. A quantity

of naval stores and some thousands of tent poles, pegs, &c., with the storehouse of Mr. Borden, also shared the same fate. In the meantime the people of the Navy set fire to the *Washington* and the *Effingham*, two very fine ships, and a number of vessels in Crosswick's creek. We are informed the rebels lost 17 men killed at Bordentown."

This expedition seems to have been the last destructive raid of the British while in possession of Philadelphia. It was doubtless made to clear the way of escape, now that the evacuation of the city had been resolved upon. This event took place on June 17, 1778. Washington started at once from Valley Forge and intercepted the runaways at Monmouth, N. J., on that hot June Sunday, trounced the British and the Hessians, though swearing at Charles Lee for his then unaccountable course, now known to have been treasonable.

In the "Journal of Congress" for July 22 we read: "A copy of a letter from Captain Barry and Captain John Young was laid before Congress and referred to the delegates of Delaware and Maryland and that they take order thereon." The purport of this letter has not been discovered.

Though Barry's *Effingham* had been destroyed by the enemy, his services had been too spirited to permit of his inactivity. In February the *Alfred*, Barry's old *Black Prince*, had been captured by the British frigates, *Ariadne* and *Ceres*, owing to the *Raleigh*, under Captain Thomas Thompson, having deserted her. On the arrival of the *Raleigh* at Boston Thompson was superseded in command by Barry. In Maclay's "History of the United States Navy" (vol. I, p. 92) we read:

"On the 25th of September, 1778, the *Raleigh* sailed from Boston, having under convoy two merchant ships. The vessels got under way early in the morning and at noon they discovered two sails to the south, when Captain Barry signalled the merchantmen to haul close by the wind while he ran down to reconnoitre.

“At dusk, when the strangers had been made out to be English frigates, the convoy was ordered to put back to port, and the *Raleigh* cleared for action. But as night came on the Englishmen were lost to view and Captain Barry resumed his course. The following day dawned with a heavy mist on the ocean so that little could be seen. Toward noon the fog lifted and disclosed the enemy still to the south, holding a course parallel to that which the *Raleigh* had been making. Captain Barry then changed his course and crowded on every stitch of canvas. As the afternoon wore on the fog settled down again, shutting the enemy out of sight. Taking advantage of this, the *Raleigh* headed eastward under a press of sail for the rest of the afternoon and the following night.

“As day began to break, September 27th, sail was shortened and the ship was stripped of everything that might attract the enemy’s attention. Captain Barry anxiously swept the horizon with his glass, and as his pursuers were nowhere to be seen, he filled away to the southwest; but at 9.30 A. M. the enemy again hove in sight, whereupon Captain Barry went about and stood on the wind north by west. On this point of sailing the *Raleigh* proved her superiority, and soon dropped her pursuers out of sight. By noon, however, the wind fell so that the enemy’s leading ship again appeared above the horizon, and this vessel gained so rapidly that at 4 P. M. Captain Barry tacked to the west so as to ascertain her force. Soon afterward several low islands were discovered ahead, and as this rendered an engagement unavoidable, the *Raleigh* luffed up to await the attack. It was nearly dark when the foremost ship came within gunshot. She opened at long range, but, rapidly closing, ran under the *Raleigh’s* ice quarter, where she kept up a heavy fire. At the second broadside the stranger gained an advantage in manœuvring by the loss of the *Raleigh’s* fore-topmast and mizzen-top-gallant mast, and he availed himself of it by endeavoring to rake, but Captain Barry frustrated this by bearing

up so as to bring the ships side by side. The near approach of the enemy's second ship rendered further resistance out of the question. So the *Raleigh* wore around and headed for the islands already mentioned. The enemy promptly made sail in chase, but, about midnight, hauled off on account of shoaling water. Finding that they had abandoned the pursuit, Captain Barry changed his intention of running his ship aground, as the night still afforded him an opportunity to escape, and, bending new sails, he tacked, but the enemy anticipated his movement and again closed upon him. The only recourse now left was to run ashore. So, heading his ship toward the island, he ran her fast aground. The Englishmen cautiously followed, and taking positions off her quarter, opened a heavy fire, to which the *Raleigh* replied with her stern guns, and at the same time hurried preparations were made for landing the crew and destroying the ship. A part of the men were put ashore and the boats were returning for the remainder when the ship surrendered.

"The English frigates proved to be the 50-gun ship *Experiment*, Captain Wallace, and the 28-gun ship *Unicorn*, the latter being the one that had engaged the *Raleigh*. The American loss was ten killed or wounded, while that of the *Unicorn* was ten killed, besides many wounded. The *Raleigh* was afterwards floated off and taken into the British service. Captain Barry and the men who escaped with him landed on an island known as the Wooden Ball, about twenty miles from the mouth of the Penobscot, and after undergoing great hardships they reached the mainland and finally gained the settlements.

A document on file in the office of the Auditor of the Navy says : "The *Raleigh*, while in command of Captain Barry, after an action of 9 hours with H. B. S. *Experiment*, 50 ; *Wallace* and *Unicorn*, 22, having lost 25 killed and wounded, run the ship ashore and deserted her (year 1778)." In John Calef's "Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels" (London, 1781) is a postscript at the close of



which is the following : " From ' Glory of America,' Commodore John Barry of the *Raleigh*, 32 guns, run on shore by British squadron, on Fox Island in Penobscot Bay " (p. 485). Abbott thus describes the affair in his " Blue Jackets of '76 " : " In September [1778], the United States frigate *Raleigh*, when a few days out from Boston, fell in with two British vessels,—one a frigate, and the other a ship-of-the-line. Capt. Barry, whose daring exploits on the Delaware we have chronicled, was in command of the *Raleigh*, and gallantly gave battle to the frigate, which was in the lead. Between these two vessels the conflict raged with great fury for upwards of two hours, when the fore-topmast and mizzen top-gallant-mast of the American having been shot away Barry attempted to close the conflict by boarding. The enemy kept at a safe distance, however ; and his consort soon coming up, the Americans determined to seek safety in flight. The enemy pursued, keeping up a rapid fire ; and the running conflict continued until midnight. Finally Barry set fire to his ship, and with the greater part of his crew escaped to the nearest land, an island near the mouth of the Penobscot. The British immediately boarded the abandoned ship, extinguished the flames, and carried their prize away in triumph."

An English account of this engagement, to be found in Beatson's " Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain," says : " The *Experiment* and *Unicorn*, being on a cruise in Boston bay, gave chase to a large sail, which, after a running fight of an hour and a half, they drove aground on an island, the greatest part of the crew got ashore. Sir William Wallace ordered the boats to board her and endeavor to get her off, in which they succeeded. She proved to be the *Raleigh* frigate belonging to the Congress, mounting 32 guns and having a crew of 250 men. On examination this prize was found so good a ship that she was purchased by the Government and added to the Royal Navy by the same name " (vol. IV, p. 380). From



the same work we learn that in 1781 the *Unicorn* was captured by a French vessel, but afterwards recaptured by the British and again added to England's Navy (vol. V, p. 210).

In Cooper's "History of the Navy" (ed. of 1853) it is said (p. 94) that "Captain Barry gained great credit for his gallantry on this occasion. He escaped to the mainland with a considerable portion of his crew, though not without great suffering. The island on which he first landed is called the Wooden Ball and lies about twenty miles from the mouth of the Penobscot, being the outermost of all the islands and rocks in its immediate vicinity."

This disaster left Barry without a ship to command. But when thus deprived of Continental employ, his State engaged his services. He was appointed commander of the letters-of-marque brig *Delaware*, which had been built to replace the boat of the same name that had been destroyed on November 21, after the attack on Fort Mifflin, to prevent its capture by the British. She carried ten guns and twenty-five men when commissioned, but later on counted twelve guns and sixty men.

In the *Delaware* Barry made two cruises to Port-au-Prince. Of his first trip there is no known account; but of his second and of his further career in charge of this vessel and of the *Alliance* we are fortunate in having the account given by John Kessler, clerk to Captain Barry while in command of the *Delaware* and his mate on the *Alliance*. This statement is now for the first time made public, though it was written for Mrs. Barry to supply information to Mr. Dennie so that he might compile the "Sketch of Commodore Barry" given in the *Portfolio* for July, 1813. Kessler says the *Delaware* sailed from Philadelphia on its second voyage to Port-au-Prince "in the fall of 1779 in company with three other letters-of-marque brigs and one schooner, of which fleet Barry was made Commodore and for which he arranged signals to be

used," and, Kessler adds, "I had to furnish each commander with a copy." He continues: "When abreast of Cape Henlopen a sail was discovered, chase was made, and on coming up found to be a British sloop-of-war called the *Harlem*, which was taken with about ninety men without resistance. The officers during the chase (after heaving over all her guns) made their escape in boats. The vessel was sent to Philadelphia, but the crew were landed near Chincoteague and delivered to a military party." Of the event above recorded Captain Barry wrote from Cape May on July 16 to Matthew Irwin, merchant at Philadelphia: "The pilot who hands this to you leaves me in a few moments. He can give you every information with respect to the sailing of the fleet. The commanders in our little squadron are very complaisant and obliging with each other, which you must think is a great satisfaction to me. The old brig behaved as well as usual, but I fear she is too deep, although I send you up in a shallop 64 boards, 30 staves and 40 barrels, which I expect will be delivered to you. I have drawn an order on you for the pilotage, which please accept, and oblige, &c." (From collection of Charles Roberts.)

Writing to Matthew and Thomas Irwin from Sinipaxan on July 18, Barry thus describes his capture of the *Harlem*: "I have the pleasure to inform you that the day we left Cape May we took the sloop of war *Harlem* of 14 four-pounders and 85 men belonging to His Britannic Majesty. The guns and sundry other things they threw overboard without firing a shot. The Captain with about ten men went off in a whale boat, but we have reason to think is since overset carrying sail from us as she disappeared all at once. After taking the prisoners out and putting some of our own people on board we made the best of our way for Cape Henlopen, but the next day the wind being ahead, a fresh breeze and 40 miles southward of the Cape, I thought it more prudent with the advice of the other captains to land the prisoners at Sinipaxan, they being

too many in number to be kept on board our little fleet with safety, as we have all the reason in the world to think we shall catch more before long.

"After taking up 24 hours of our time in landing them and applying to sundry people to take them into custody, and take them to Philadelphia or some other goal with an offer of an order on you for the payment of the charges, which no doubt will be high, they all refused us and we were under the disagreeable necessity to leave them on shore with the commanding officer of the place, being present when my officers came from the shore.

"The sloop is a fine vessel and has been a cruiser since the enemy took New York, but at present she is much out of tune. Great care ought to be taken of the articles on board as the vessel arrives. I hired two men and gave them orders for which you will please accept and charge the sloop *Harlem* with it.

"The vessel was in company with the *Rainbow* when our ship was off the Capes " (from Charles Roberts' Collection).

"On the remainder of the passage out," Kessler continues, "nothing worthy of notice occurs. On the passage home a merchant vessel of Liverpool was taken, which was however retaken by the noted Guttridge and carried into Bermuda."

During the war there was often agitation, if not contest, between the Continental and the State naval forces. The Continental vessels impressed into the service men belonging to the State navy or bearing letters-of-marque of the State. How Captain Barry, once of the Continental, but now of the State Navy, met the designs of Continental press gangs is thus told by Kessler: "At our arrival in the Delaware the pilot who came on board informed us that the Continental frigate *Confederacy* lay at Chester, and impressed the crews of the merchant vessels going up the river. This information very much alarmed the brig's crew, and many desired to be put ashore. Captain Barry

addressed them thus: 'My lads, if you have the spirit of freemen you will not desire to go ashore nor tamely submit against your wills to be taken away, although all the force of all the frigate's boat's crew were to attempt to exercise such a species of tyranny.'

"This address satisfied them, and as it implied his consent to their defending themselves, they resolved to do it at all hazards, and for that purpose put themselves under the command and direction of the boatswain and armed themselves with muskets, pistols and boarding pikes, and thus we arrived within hailing distance of the *Confederacy*. When her commander ordered the brig's main topsail to be hove to the mast Capt. Barry answered that he could not without getting his vessel ashore. The commander of the frigate ordered that the brig should come to anchor. Capt. Barry gave no answer, but continued on his way beating up with the tide of flood and wind ahead when a gun was fired from the frigate and a boat manned left her and came towards us.

"Captain Barry directed that the officers of the boat should be admitted on board, but as to the men with them we might do as we pleased. The boat soon arrived and two officers (armed) jumped on board and on the quarter-deck, ordering the main topsail halyards to be cast off, which was not, however, done. Captain Barry asked whether they were sent to take command of his vessel. The boat's crew were then about entering when we presented ourselves and threatened instant death to all that entered. Their officers thereon, after trying to intimidate our boatswain by presenting their pistols at them, finding it, however, of no avail, they hastily sprang into their boats and left us.

"Another gun was then fired from the frigate, when Captain Barry ordered the guns to be cleaned and declared that if but a rope yard was injured by their firing he would give them a whole broadside. The third gun being fired from the frigate, Captain Barry hailed and asked the name



of her commander. The answer was: 'Lieut. Gregory.' Captain Barry immediately thereon addressed him thus: 'Lieutenant Gregory, I advise you to desist from firing. This is the brig *Delaware*, belonging to Philadelphia, and my name is John Barry.'

"Nothing further was said or done by Lieutenant Gregory. It was said that Mr. Gregory had once been under the command of Captain Barry and could not but know that he would not be trifled with.

"Thus our whole crew arrived at Philadelphia, but the other vessels of our fleet were obliged to anchor, for by the pressing of those who did not get on shore they were obliged to remain until assistance was sent to them from Philadelphia. After our arrival Captain Barry left the command of the brig, he having been ordered to take charge of a Continental 74-gun ship." This was in November, 1780, and the ship to which he was now assigned was the frigate *Alliance*, then lying at Boston.

Kessler further relates: "In the passages to Port-au-Prince and back two vessels were captured and I received my prize money by the special orders of Captain Barry in the threefold capacity of clerk, steward and captain of marines. On our return Captain Barry left the brig and James Collins, the first lieutenant, obtained command and with whom I remained."

The frigate *Confederacy* that had attempted to press Barry's men was captured by the British on April 14, 1781, while carrying supplies for Washington's army. The *Delaware*, under Collins, was captured and her crew taken to England. Kessler, however, made his escape, in connection with which he has left this record: "I got on board a letter-of-marque ship of 20 guns bound for Salem in Massachusetts and worked for my passage. On November 11 we arrived at Salem, where I was landed an utter stranger, penniless and wretchedly clad, having left most of my clothing in the prison. Fortunately hearing that Captain Barry was at Boston and in command of the frigate



*Alliance* of 36 guns, I proceeded there and presented myself to him. My shabby appearance did not hinder his instantly knowing me. He was glad at seeing me and invited me to go with him in the frigate as midshipman, which I finally agreed to do, although I was anxious to see my friends. On the 28th of November I was entered an acting midshipman and liberally furnished by Captain Barry to enable me to appear in my station on board."

As but little of the biographical material supplied by Kessler to Mrs. Barry was used in the *Portfolio* sketch, and as his data contain much more information than appears there, I now draw freely on his original manuscript, of which he tells the Commodore's widow: "The foregoing contains all the occurrences on board the *Alliance* which my memory assisted by my journal enabled me to recollect. It will be found very minute and containing much that will not perhaps form part of the contemplated publication respecting Captain Barry." He guessed aright, and accordingly it has remained until now to give the full record as he made it. The original is in possession of Colonel Kessler, of Butte, Montana, a grandson of John Kessler. Its existence was first made known in our time at a meeting of the Sons of the Revolution in Minnesota by W. H. Grant, Esq., Registrar and Historian of the order. To him I am indebted for the copy I have used.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE "ALLIANCE" THE FINEST AMERICAN SHIP THEN AFLOAT—INCOMPETENCE OF HER FIRST CAPTAIN, PIERRE LANDAIS—HE IS SUCCEEDED BY BARRY—SETS OUT FOR FRANCE—CAPTURES THE "ALERT"—ARRIVES AT L'ORIENT—STARTS FOR HOME—MUTINY ON BOARD—CAPTURES THE "MARS" AND THE "MINERVA"—PARTS WITH THE "MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE"—OTHER ENCOUNTERS—THE GREAT FIGHT WITH THE "ATALANTA" AND THE "TREPASSEY"—BRILLIANT VICTORY IN SPITE OF MANY DISADVANTAGES—ARRIVAL AT BOSTON—BARRY'S REPORT OF THIS FAMOUS VOYAGE.

The ship *Alliance* was so named in honor of the treaty of alliance concluded with France in February, 1778. She was launched in the spring of that year. As a compliment to the French it was deemed proper to appoint a Frenchman as her captain, and Pierre Landais was chosen. She sailed from Boston in January, 1779, and went to France. It was there said of her that there was "not a more perfect piece of naval architecture in Europe." Landais proved to be incompetent. Indeed, from the record of some of his actions, such as firing into the *Bon Homme Richard*, under Paul Jones, when she was engaged in battle with the *Serapis*, it came to be believed that Landais was insane. For "unofficial and unseamanlike conduct" in disobeying Captain Jones, Landais was court-martialed and suspended. He was restored, however, by Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners to France. Landais took the *Alliance* to Boston, and in June, 1780, was dismissed by Congress. The command was given to Barry in November of that year. Captain Landais was a Catholic. He died on Long Island, N. Y., in 1818, and in old St. Patrick's graveyard, New York City, a monument was erected with this inscription in French: "To the Memory of

Pierre de Landais, formerly Rear Admiral in the Service of the United States, who disappeared in June, 1818, aged 87" (*United Service Magazine*, July, 1892, p. 45). In Taylor's "Life of John Paul Jones" it is related that one who served under Landais declared that it "was not through any defect of bravery, but merely from his desire to approach the enemy scientifically by bearing down upon the hypotenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh manœuvre of his old textbook."

The *Alliance* was the favorite ship of the Navy and Nation during the Revolution. She was a beautiful and exceedingly fast ship; and accordingly the selection of Barry as her commander was a most honorable testimony to his merit. She was most fittingly selected to convey Colonel John Laurens to France as a special commissioner at that "infinitely critical posture of our affairs," as Washington wrote Franklin. Colonel Laurens had had an interview with Washington on the subject of his mission, and on the result of their conferences "on the present state of affairs" the commander-in-chief wrote to him from New London on February 15, 1781, to prepare him for the course he was to pursue in France. The letter was given to the Comte de Vergennes, and is now in the French archives. Washington stated the object of Laurens' mission to be: first, "the absolute necessity of an immediate, ample and efficacious succor in money, large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangements of finance, to revive public credit and give vigor to future operations." As our concern is with the chief officer of the Revolutionary force on sea, Washington's words concerning the Navy may appropriately be introduced in relating the career of the commander of the ship which carried his message to France.

On the importance of the Navy Washington wrote that "next to a loan of money a constant naval superiority on these coasts is the object most interesting. This would

instantly reduce the enemy to a difficult defensive and, by removing all prospect of extending their acquisitions, would take away the motives for prosecuting the war. Indeed, it isn't to be conceived that they could subsist a large force in this country, if we had the command of the sea, to interrupt the regular transmission of supplies from Europe. This superiority (with an aid in money) would enable us to convert the war into a vigorous offensive.

. . . With respect to us, it seems to be one of two deciding points; and it appears, too, to be the interest of our allies, abstracted from the immediate benefits to this country, to transfer the naval war to America. The number of ports friendly to them, hostile to the British, the materials for repairing their disabled ships, the extensive supplies towards the subsistence of their fleet, are circumstances which would give them a palpable advantage in the contest of these seas" (Ford's "Writings of Washington," Vol. IX, p. 107). That the importance which Washington attached to a large fleet was not overestimated we may judge by observing the force of the British Navy during the contest: In 1776, 28,000; 1777, 45,000; 1778, 60,000; 1779, 70,000; 1780, 85,000; 1781, 90,000; 1782, 100,000; 1783, 110,000 (Robinson's "British Fleet," p. 432).

While the *Alliance* was waiting at Boston a memorandum, signed by William Vernon and J. Warren, on behalf of the Government, was given to Barry, which reads: "Received of Captain John Barry £1438, 9, 4 in bills of credit of the old emission, the balance of his old account with the Navy Board as per settlement 9th February, 1781, appears" (collection of Charles Roberts).

On February 11 the *Alliance* sailed from Boston for L'Orient, carrying as passengers Colonel Laurens, Thomas Paine, Major Jackson and the Comte de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette. On the way to France she captured the *Alert*, of twelve guns, which was taken to L'Orient, where the crew were put in prison. It was probably the

same that had captured the *Lafayette* on September 18, 1777. "We arrived at L'Orient," says Kessler, "without anything worth noting except Paine's duel with the French officer," Comte de Noailles. On March 23 Captain Barry, preparing to return to America, issued the following order to Captain Gallathea, the commander of the letters-of-marque vessel, *Marquis de Lafayette*:

"SIR: I am inform'd by Messrs. Goulade & Moylan that your ship is loaded with Stores for the Hon'bles the Continental Congress. In Consequence of which I do hereby give you a Paragraph, of my Orders from the Hon'ble the Admiralty of the United States whose particular Orders I am under. Viz.t. 'We would not have you lay Longer in France than a Month or six Weeks, in which time we Conceive the Articles we have Generally Mentioned may be Procured & Ship'd in that time in other Bottoms—You in that Case take such Vessels under your Convoy to this place,' meaning the Delaware. In Consequence of which I do hereby order you to get Your Ship ready for Sea Immediately & to proceed under my Convoy to the before mentioned place."

On March 29 the *Alliance* left L'Orient for America in company with the French letters-of-marque ship *Marquis de Lafayette*, loaded with clothing for and on account of the United States. "On March 30th," relates Kessler, "an Indian (one of the forecastle men) gave Captain Barry information of a combination among the crew for the purpose of taking the ship, and pointing out three who had strove to prevail on him to be concerned therein. The three men were immediately put in irons, and all the officers, with such of the crew as could be confided in, were armed and required to remain all night on deck. On the next morning all hands were called and placed on the forecastle, booms and gangways, excepting the officers and such part of the crew in whom Captain Barry confided, who, armed, strongly guarded the quarter-deck, the storage and the main deck to keep the remainder of the crew



together on the fore-castle and boom, &c. The three designated men were brought out of their irons on the quarter-deck, and being stripped and hoisted by the thumbs to the mizzen stay, underwent a very severe whipping before either would make any confession. The names of 25 of their accomplices were obtained from them before the whipping was discontinued. As their accomplices were disclosed, they were called to the quarter-deck, stripped and tied to the ridge-rope of the netting and the whipping continued until it was thought all were disclosed that could possibly be obtained, which proved to be that it was intended to take the ship on her passage out by killing all the officers (in the middle watch of the night) except the second Lieutenant, T. Fletcher, who was to navigate her to some port in Ireland, or on failure to be destroyed. A quartermaster was to have command, and they had all been bound by an oath on the Bible, administered by the Captain's assistant cabin steward, and had also signed their names in a round robin (so-called), but that they found no good opportunity on the outward passage and intended to accomplish the taking of the ship as aforesaid immediately on leaving France. But on coming out of L'Orient we lost a man overboard who was one of the chief ringleaders, and they considering that as a bad omen threw the round robin overboard and relinquished their designs. The three principals were placed securely in irons and the remainder, after being admonished by Captain Barry and on their solemn declaration to conduct themselves well, were permitted to return to the ship's duty." Abbott, in his "Blue Jackets of '76," relates this conspiracy to mutiny, but says that it occurred under Landais, who was informed of it by an Irishman. Kessler's narrative is, of course, to be accepted.

Respecting the mutiny the log of the *Alliance*, now in possession of W. Horace Hepburn, Esq., of Philadelphia, records: "Sunday, March 31, 1781. At 5 P. M. put Cullen

in irons for mutiny. At 11 found out a number more that was concerned in the mutiny. The names of those that were punished: Thos. Stokes, P. Sheldon, Hugh Mal-lady, George Green, John Chalford (?), John McDaniel, Wm. McElhaney, John Downey, Jas. Martin, Walter Crooker, William Vanderpole. Latitude 45.58."

Kessler relates that "on April 2nd two brigs gave us chase and were permitted to come up. One ran close on board of us and without any hail fired the whole broad-side at us and immediately every one run off her deck. We had commenced firing, but on discovering their retreat, the firing ceased and we boarded them. She proved to be a brig with flush deck and 20 twelve pounders, two six pounders and 14 cannonades with 112 men, called the *Mars* and belonging to the *Guernsey*. The crew were taken on board the *Alliance* and all put in irons (without distinction). Captain Barry, considering them as not merit-ing other treatment in consequence of their firing on us with no intention of bravely fighting. The other brig was the *Minerva*, of 10 guns and 55 men. She was taken possession of and manned by the *Marquis de Lafayette*, our consort. Soon after in a gale of wind we parted with our consort and the prizes." The *Mars* had on February 3 of this year been captured from the Americans at St. Eustatia and added to the British Navy (Beatson's "Memoirs," Vol. V, p. 166).

These two captures are thus recorded in the log of the *Alliance* under date of April 2, 1781: "At 7 A. M. saw two sail bearing N. W. Made all the sails we could and gave chase. They stood for us. At 10 passed us to the lee-ward and gave us a broadside each and we returned double fold. One brig struck and hove to. She proved to be the *Mars* of twenty twelves and two sixes and twelve four pounders and 111 men. The other run to the east-ward. We fired a number of bow chases at her. She hove to at 11 o'clock and proved to be the *Minerva*, John Lecoster, commander, mounting eight four-pounders and

55 men. John Privo commanded the first brig. Their shot did us considerable damage. Cut away one of our M shrouds and all M T M back stay, two fore shrouds, M T M stay and together with several other ropes shot through our fore sail in several other places. M T M S S Mizen S sail, F T sail, F T sail M T sail M T. Sent Mr. Fletcher and 14 men on board the largest brig including Mr. Brown, master mate. A twelve pound shot went through our F T M steering sail, boom and lodged in our fore yard, which damaged it very much."

"May 2. Captured a brig," continues Kessler, "and skow loaded with sugar from Jamaica for London which was manned and ordered to Boston. Soon after made a fleet of about 65 sail convoyed by 10 sail of line." The log of the same day reads: "May 2d. Gave the brig two bow guns at M. [Meridian]. Came up with the chase. She proved to be the brig from Jamaica, Captain Savage, bound to Bristol. Sent our boat on board and took the prisoners out.

"May 3d. At 2 P. M. came up with the chase which proved to be a 7 four pounder from Jamaica bound to Bristol. Cap. sent the boat on board and brought the prisoners on board. Lat. 41. 33."

Kessler's narrative continues as follows: "May 7th. The maintopmast was split from the cap to the keel by lightning and a number of men knocked down and much burnt.

"May 28th. Towards evening discovered a sail on the weather bow standing for us and which after coming near enough to be kept in sight hauled to wind and stood on our course. Towards day it became quite calm. After it became light it appeared that they were an armed ship and brig—about a league distant. At sunrise they hoisted the English colors and beat drums. At the same time the American colors were displayed by the *Alliance*. By little puffs of wind we were enabled to get within small hailing distance. At eleven o'clock Captain Barry hailed the

ship, and the answer was the *Atalanta* ship of war belonging to His Britannic Majesty, commanded by Captain Sampson Edwards. Captain Barry then told Captain Edwards that we were the Continental frigate *Alliance* and commanded by John Barry and advised him to haul down his colors. Captain Edwards answered: 'Thank you, sir. Perhaps I may after a trial.' The firing then began, but unfortunately there was not wind enough for our steerage way, and they being lighter vessels by using sweeps got and kept athwart our stern and on our quarters so that we could not bring one half our guns out astern to bear on them, and thus laying like a log the greater part of the time.

"About 2 o'clock Captain Barry received a wound by a grape shot in the shoulder. He remained, however, on the quarter deck until by much loss of blood he was obliged to be helped to the cock pit. Some time after our colors were shot away. It so happened that at the same time such guns as would bear on the enemy had been fired and were then loading. This caused the enemy to think we had struck our colors. They manned their shrouds and gave three cheers. By that time the colors were hoisted by a mizen brail and our firing began again. A quartermaster went to the wheel (in place of one just killed there). At the same time a small breeze of wind happened. A broadside was brought to bear and fired on the ship and then on the brig, when they struck their colors at three o'clock.

"I was ordered to fetch the Captains on board. Finding the Captain of the brig killed, the Captain of the ship was brought. On his entrance on board the First Lieutenant received him and to whom he offered his sword. It was not received and he was informed that he was not the Captain; that Captain Barry was wounded and in the cabin, to whom he was conducted. On his entrance into the cabin (Captain Barry then there seated in an easy chair, his wounds dressed) he advanced to Captain Barry and



presented his sword and which Captain Barry received, then returned to Captain Edwards, saying: 'I return it to you, sir. You have merited it and your King ought to give you a better ship. Here is my cabin at your service. Use it as your own.' He then ordered the Lieutenant of the brig to be brought.

"It was agreed that the crew of the ship, together with the prisoners on board the *Alliance*, should be all put on board of the brig (called the *Trepassy*, a King's of 16 guns) and sent as Cartel to Halifax, but Captain Edwards and the Lieutenant of the *Trepassy* he kept as hostages for the return of the brig with Americans in return for the about 250 British sent. It being, however, too late in the day to effect removal, a prize master and crew was sent on board each and ordered to keep close by us all night. Captain Edwards and the Lieutenant were requested to address their people and excite them to orderly behavior during the night and which they did from the quarter-deck of the *Alliance* and had the desired effect. The next morning the cannon of the brig were hove overboard, and after the arms and ammunition was taken from her, the prisoners were put on board and she departed for Halifax and the *Alliance* made all sail for Boston, leaving the prize ship to follow (on account of the Captain Barry's wound). It was said some time after Captain Barry had received his wound and left the deck, Lieut. B—— went into the cockpit to Captain Barry and represented that as the rigging of the ship was very much out and the ship otherwise much damaged and many men killed and wounded and considering also the disadvantages we labored under for want of wind: 'Whether the colors should be struck.' Captain Barry passionately answered: 'No, sir, and if the ship cannot be fought without me I will be brought on deck.' The officer immediately returned to deck and Captain Barry, after being dressed in haste, was on his way to the deck when the enemy struck.

"Captain Edwards said they were very confident that



they would subdue the *Alliance*. This might appear to be claiming to themselves a superior share of courage and a want on the part of the *Alliance*, if nothing but disproportion of numbers of guns and weight of metal were taken in view; but when the disadvantages under which the *Alliance* labored are considered, it will appear they had much reason to flatter themselves with success, and the more so had they known all those disadvantages: 1st, of the *Alliance's* usual compliment of crew, say 280—three prizes had been manned—and of 50 on the Doctor's list, there could not be procured sufficiently able to sit between decks to hand powder from the magazine, and those who had a mutinous disposition formed part of the remainder; besides, more than 100 prisoners to take care of and who felt themselves under the lash for their cowardly conduct, and above all the total calm which prevailed until the close of the action. The loss on board was 11 killed and 24 wounded." "I was slightly wounded in the leg," says Kessler in a later record.

In his "History of the Navy" Maclay says: "On this occasion the *Alliance* mounted 28 eighteen pounders and 12 nine pounders. . . . The *Atalanta* was ordered to the United States, but while endeavoring to run into Boston was recaptured. The *Alliance* reached port in safety" (p. 146). For another account of this famous naval fight see Abbott's "Blue Jackets," pp. 226-28.

Kessler continues: "June 6th, 1781. The *Alliance* arrived at Boston and Cap'n Barry was immediately landed, and as his wound was considered in a dangerous state he despatched me express to Philadelphia for Mrs. Barry."

"The *Alliance* was so much shattered in her mast, sails and rigging that a new fore and main mast and a thorough overhauling and repair was necessary, which required much time.

"The chief mutineers were tried and condemned to be hanged, but the sentence was changed to that of 'serve during the war;' but Captain Barry refused their admis-

sion on board the *Alliance*, and they were delivered to a recruiting party as soldiers."

The following lines, in "The Old Commodore," by William Collins, refer to this action, though not with historical accuracy :

" Upon the ocean sailing,  
In pride and great renown,  
Our Yankee vessel hailing,  
A British brig bore down.  
  
" Says the Commodore, ' We've got 'em ;  
Boys, up and blaze away !'  
And we sunk her to the bottom  
And her consort Trepassey."

Referring to this fight Frost in his " Naval Biography" says : " It was considered a most brilliant exploit and an unequivocal evidence of the unconquerable firmness and intrepidity of the victor."

Beatson, " Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain," Vol. V, p. 308, gives the following narrative of this battle :

" His Majesty's sloops, *Atalanta* and *Trepassey*, commanded by Captains Edwards and Smith, got in sight of a sail on May 27th, on which they hove up and came within one league of her. They hauled their wind and failed to sight her all night. At noon on the 28th, it being almost a calm, the strange sail, about half a mile leeward, soon convinced them she was an enemy by hoisting the Congress colors and firing a broadside at the two sloops, which were near each other. Then they hove up close alongside the enemy, the *Atalanta* on starboard, *Trepassey* on larboard, and began to engage. About an hour after Captain Smith of the *Trepassey* was killed, and Lieut. King took command and continued the combat two hours and a half longer, when the sloop, quite disabled, was obliged to strike. She had 5 killed and 10 wounded. The *Atalanta* continued the action longer, but was likewise obliged to submit after having a good many killed

and wounded. Lieut. Samuel Arden lost his right arm. His bravery was very conspicuous during the battle. The instant his wound was dressed he resumed his station on deck, where he remained until the sloop struck. There was no proportion between the enemy's force and the British."

Before Captain Barry had returned to Boston Congress had had report of his success on the way to France. On June 3, 1781, a resolution was adopted "that Robert Morris be authorized to take measures to speedily launch and equip for sea the ship *America*, now on the stocks at Portsmouth, N. H. ; that the Board of Admiralty be directed to assign Mr. Morris the produce of the shares of the United States in the prizes taken by Captain Barry, to enable Mr. Morris to carry into execution the preceding Resolution."

Barry's action in releasing a Venetian ship which the *Alert* had captured was founded on "a respect for the laws of nations and the rights of neutrality." It was brought to the attention of Congress, and on June 26, 1781, the representatives forming that body "resolved that the Board of Admiralty inform John Barry, Esq., commander of the frigate *Alliance*, that Congress approve his conduct in releasing the ship belonging to subjects of the Republic of Venice retaken by him from a British privateer on 4th of March last, it being the determination always to pay the utmost respect to the rights of neutral commerce."

Kessler makes no mention of the loss of the *Lafayette*, which the *Alliance* was convoying from France ; but in Beatson's "Memoirs," Vol. V, p. 207, it is recorded that she was captured by the *Endymion*, Capt. Fanshaw, and that she was bound for Philadelphia laden with arms and clothing. Her loss was referred by Congress to Messrs. Lee, Ramsay and Lowell for investigation. On July 12, 1782, this committee reported the result of their examination, whereupon Congress "ordered that the Secretary transmit a copy of the report to Captain Barry to be compared with log book of the *Alliance*, corrected if there

should be any mistakes, and signed and sworn to by him and returned to Congress together with Captain Robinson's letter referred to in his information" ("Journal of Congress," Vol. VII, p. 312).

Captain Barry's report of his voyage to France and return to Boston, the documents of which have been obtained from the Government archives at Washington, and are now for the first time made public, is as follows :

" ALLIANCE FRIGATE, BOSTON HARBOR,  
" 6th June, 1781.

" GENTLEMEN: I have the pleasure to inform you of my arrival in Boston after a passage of Sixty-nine days from Port L'Orient, at which place I arrived at after Capturing a Small Privateer of ten Guns and thirty Men and retaking her prize a Venician ; the latter I relieved but the former I took to L'Orient with me where I sold her and distributed the money amongst my Officers and Crew which pleased them very much as it was more than they ever received for the *Alliance* before.

" On my Arrival in L'Orient I was left destitute of any person to consult with, as Colo. Laurens soon left me, however I soon found there was a Ship called the *Marquis de la Fayette* loading with Continental Stores mounting twenty-six Eighteen pounders and fourteen Six pounders whom I was informed was ordered to Join the Fleet at Brest to go w<sup>th</sup> them to America ; In that case I was determined to Clean the Ship and to Comply with my orders to Cruize, but finding the Captain dilatory and loosing his Convoy from L'Orient to Brest and from thence to America I tho't it my duty to Convoy her safe to Philadelphia if possible, I then gave him orders to get himself in readiness while I with my officers did everything in our power to get the *Alliance* in the best order possible, as soon as he was ready we Sailed on the 30th day of March from L'Orient with a fair wind.

" On the next day we discovered a Conspiracy on board,

the Ring leaders we Confined and have brought them in here in irons. Unhappily for us we had no Seamen on board but disaffected ones, and but few of them, I believe a Ship never put to sea in a worse Condition as to Seamen.

"On the 2d April we fell in with the Privateer *Mars* of twenty twelve pounders, two sixes and One hundred and twelve Men, and the Privateer *Minerva* of ten guns and fifty-five men (after taking out her Prisoners) we put a prize Master and a Number of men on board; the latter the *Marquis* mann'd, both of which I ordered for Philadelphia One of which has since arrived here. the other I suppose went to France.

"We had Continual Gales of Wind on our Passage One in particular in the Latitude of 40-3 and Longitude of 36. We first split our Fore Topsail and then handed it. About 7 o'Clock in the Morning on the 25th April (the *Marquis* close by us) we split our Foresail and soon after our Fore stay Sail which deprived us of any head Sail, the *Marquis* being then under her Fore Sail she soon shott ahead of us out of sight, and to our great Mortification we could never see her afterwards altho' we did all our endeavours, standing backwards and forewards looking after her.

"On the 2d May in Lattitude 41<sup>d</sup> 37<sup>m</sup> N and Longitude 43 We fell in with a Brig and Skow loaded with Sugars from Jamaica which we Captured, and in Case of Separation were ordered for Philadelphia, which was the Case a Short time afterwards in a hard Gale of Wind.

"On the 16th May in Latt<sup>de</sup> 38<sup>m</sup> 57 N and Long<sup>d</sup>. 53.—in a Severe Gale of Wind attended with thunder and lightning One of which Claps cut our Main Top Mast in two and knocked down twelve or fifteen men on Deck some of which it burnt some of their Skin off but I thank God all of them have done well since.

"I forgot to mention that in one of the Gales we discovered the Fore Mast very badly Sprung we immediately



fished it in the best manner possible which rendered us incapable of Carrying much Sail.

“On the 19th May in Latt<sup>d</sup>. 38<sup>d</sup>. 13<sup>m</sup>. N and 55 of Longitude we fell in with two Ships, took them to be homeward bound Merchantmen, but being so poorly Manned we were not in a Condition to take them, therefore did not speak them.

“On the 28th May in Latt’d 40<sup>d</sup>—34<sup>m</sup> N and Longitude 63.1.—we fell in with two his Britannic Majesty’s Sloops of War the *Attalanta* & *Trepassey*, the former commanded by Captain Edwards, the latter by Captain Smith that was killed in the Engagement who bore down upon us and after a Smart Action we had five Men killed and twenty-two wounded, three of which has died of their wounds since, I am amongst the wounded, the Occasion of my wound was a large Grape Shott which lodged in my left Shoulder, which was soon after cut out by the Surgeon, I am flattered by him that I shall be fit for duty before the Ship will be ready to Sail and I am of the same opinion as the Ship is shattered in a most shocking manner and wants new Masts, Yards, Sail and Rigging,—Soon after the Sloops of War struck I tho’t it most prudent to throw all the *Trepassey*’s Guns overboard and take away all her military stores and to fit her out as a Cartel and to send all the Prisoners I had on board with them I had that day taken, for Newfoundland, which the Captain of the *Attalanta* assured me should be regularly Exchanged, only keeping on board the Captain of the *Attalanta*, the Purser, Doctor and Wounded; and the Senior Officer of the *Trepassey* with a few others.—As the *Attalanta* was the largest Vessel and Copper bottomed I got Jury Masts upon her (she being dismasted in the action) and ordered her to Boston which I tho’t the Nearest and safest Port, we being at that time in a Shattered Condition very foul and hardly Men enough to work our Ship I tho’t Most prudent to make the nearest Port we could, hoping it will meet with Your Honors’ approbation; I cannot help mentioning One

particular Circumstance respecting a Quantity of Copper and Nails fitt for Sheathing Ships which has laid in the hands of the Continental Agents and Navy board for these three Years.—Whether It was sent for any other purpose or not I cannot tell, but I am sure it is fit for nothing else, It will not Cost so much to put it on the Ship as it will to Clean her, if you would order the *Alliance* to be sheathed with it you may keep her the whole War, if not you may be assured that whenever she is Caughted at sea foul that you will loose her.—

“I have given you a Short Sketch of my Operations from the time I sailed from Boston until the present time which I hope will meet with Your Approbation, Your Attention particular to Sheathing the Ship with Copper will render an Assential Service to the Country and much oblige

“Your Most obedient and very

“humble Serv’t

“JOHN BARRY.

“P. S. I hear the *Skow* with Sugars is in a Safe Port to the Eastward & expect the *Attalanta* in every hour.

(Endorsed) “Captain Barry’s Letter of 6 June, 1781, to the Board of Admiralty—1 Enclosure.”

“To the Honorable Naval Board Eastern Department, June —th (1781).

“GENTLEMEN: For Sufficient reasons as per Log we were obliged to cut our Cable to get under way from Nantasket road on the 11th of February. Nothing remarkable till the 16th instant when we fell in with in the Night Large fields of ice and Blowing very hard, we continued in the ice about 12 hours the Ship Laboring very Much we rec<sup>d</sup> Considerable damage in Lattitude 42° 03’ N; Long<sup>d</sup> 55° 03’ west on the 4th day of March 47° 31’ D. R. Long<sup>d</sup> 4° 27’ we Fell in with and took a Privateer Schooner from Glasgow Mounting 10 Carriage Guns, called the *Alert*, Francis Russell Commander, sent Mr. Nich<sup>s</sup> Gar-

den Prize Master, who arrived safe in L'Orient, Friday the 9th of March.

"Saturday we come to Anchor at Port Louis Friday the 30th of March we slipt our Moorings and got under way in Company with the ship *Marquis de La Fayette* 31<sup>st</sup> of Do. We found out a number of men who had conspired to take the ship from us to Carry her into England and punished them in such a manner as made them Confess the Crime laid to their Charge Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> of April we fell in with and took 2 Privateer Brigs from Guernsy one was the *Mars* of 20-12 lb. and 2-6 lb. and 12 4 pound Cohorns Jno. Prero Commander, the other was the *Minerva* of 8-4 pound cannon and 55 men John Lecost Commander the first Brig Manned by us Lieut. Fletcher Prize Master the *Minerva* manned by the *Marquis* 19<sup>th</sup> Instant Lost Sight of both Brigs 26<sup>th</sup> Instant Lost Sight of the *Marquis* in a Gale of Wind and May the 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>d</sup> took a Brig and a Skow from Jamaica bound to Bristol in the Latt<sup>d</sup>. of 41° 30' Long<sup>d</sup>. 41° 30' West Laden with Sugar.

"Thursday the 12<sup>th</sup> of May Lost Sight of the Brig and Skow in the Latt<sup>d</sup>. of 39° 81' Long<sup>d</sup>. 55° 81' West, heavy Gales of Wind and Thunder and Lightning. 17<sup>th</sup> of May Lightning Struck our Main top Mast and Shivered him from Cross trees to Cap, sprung our Foremast very badly the Lightning burnt one man and knocked down several, in the Latt<sup>d</sup>. 38° 57' Long<sup>d</sup>. 52° 46' West.

"29<sup>th</sup> of May fell in with two English Sloops of War one a Ship mounting 16 Carriage Guns and 120 men Capt. Edwards, the other a Brig of 14 Carriage Guns and 60 or 70 men Capt. Smith, the Ship Called *Atalanta* the Brig called the *Trepassey*, they engaged us within Pistol Shott. 3 hours when they struck to us, we were very much Shattered in our Rigin, Spars, and Sails no part of our ship escaped the Fury of their Shott we had 5 men killed and 18 or 20 wounded Among the dangerous wounded was Mr. Prichard, who was shot with a 6 pound

shot, him with some more has since died of their wounds, the Ship and Brig in a very Shattered Condition the Ships Main Mast went over the side the next Morning, the Ship had 5 men killed and 15 wounded, by their account, the Brig had 6 men killed the Capt. Included, and 12 or 15 wounded, fitted out the Brig as a Cartel as soon as possible and hove her guns over board sent between 2 or 300 men on board and Dispatched her the 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 1781, Latt. 41° 10' Long. 62° 13' June 1<sup>st</sup> parted Company with the *Atalanta* Bound for Boston, Lieut. Welsh on board of her.

"GENTLEMEN for more particulars you will please to have Recourse to the Log Book. 'N. B. Latt<sup>d</sup> 45° 06' Long<sup>d</sup> 12° 43' West when we took the 2 Privateer Brigs.'"

"BOSTON July 25, 1781.

"GENTS: It is with pleasure that I acquaint your honors that I am almost recovered of my wound and I hope in 3 or 4 days to be able to attend my duty for I find my presence very requisite there being only one Liet. and the Master on board both of them good officers. Capt<sup>n</sup>. Hacker and several [torn] officers left the Ship by permission from the Hon'ble Navy Board during my Illness. However I am satisfied, as I am Confident these places can be as well filled. The Master John Buckley have being in the Ship ever since she was launched he acted as second Liet. from the 11 of July 1779 till he arrived in Boston last year. He having an attachment to the service and his views different from many others he resumed the office of Master When I took the Com<sup>d</sup> and in that Station Behaved as a good and faithful officer.

"The Ship having but one Liet. on board and none here at present but one. Who is a very young man and in my opinion not fit to Com'd Men like Buckley but he may make a tolerable 3 Liet. Mr. Buckley has made application to me as his friend to use my interest to get him appointed a Lieutenant on board the Ship. If my

assuring the Hon'ble the Admiralty that he was the best Officer I had in the last Ship Cruize will be of any service to him I can on my honor declare it. Should your Honors think proper to grant him a Commission your dating it from his being appointed an Acting Liet. will much oblige

"Gents.

"Your Most Obedient

"and Very Hum'le Ser't

"JOHN BARRY."

[Addressed]

"The Hon'le The Admiralty

Philadelphia.

[Endorsed] "BOSTON July 25th, 1781."

"PHILADELPHIA Oct 13, 1781.

"SIR: I have to inform Your Excellency that there are three Men in Boston goal that have been tried by a Court Martial the proceedings of which I understand was sent to the Hon'le the Congress as they are to receive there punishment on Board the *Alliance* and she ordered to Sea I would be much oblige to your Excellency to lay it before the Hon'le the Congress in order that they may be punished or acquitted I am

"Sir Your Excellency Most

"Obedient Hum'le Ser't

"JOHN BARRY

"His Excellency Thomas McKean, Esq.,

"President of Congress."

[Endorsed] "Letter Oct. 13, 1781.

CAPT. JOHN BARRY

MR. SHERMAN

MR. RANDOLPH

MR. BOUDINOT."

pass'd.

[Note on the back of letter] "The Committee to whom the within letter of Captain John Barry was referred, con-



cerning three men, sentenced to receive punishment on board frigate *Alliance*, report: 'That the proceedings of the Court Martial cannot be found in the archives of Congress or of any of its boards.

“‘Resolved, that the Superintendent of finance take measures for obtaining a copy of the proceedings of the Court Martial at Boston, in the case of three men belonging to the frigate *Alliance*.’”

(*To be continued.*)

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN WISCONSIN.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY TIMES—THE PIONEERS—THE  
GERMAN CATHOLIC ELEMENT.

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A Fragmentary Sketch by Alfred Steckel.

Wisconsin as a State is not yet half a century old. It will celebrate its semi-centennial as one of the States of the Union in the year 1898. But the sign of redemption was planted on its soil over two centuries ago, when the celebrated French Jesuit missionary, Père Marquette, passed through the territory now constituting Wisconsin as an apostle of the cross and as an explorer. Until the year 1763, Wisconsin, that is the territory within its present borders, was part of the French possessions in North America, called New France. At that time it was ceded to England, and after the colonies had gained their independence it became part of the United States. The vast territory then ceded by England to the United States, of which the present Wisconsin formed a part, was, in the year 1787, organized by Congress under the name of Northwestern Territory, out of which were gradually formed the states of Ohio (1804), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), Wisconsin (1848) and Minnesota (1858).

In ecclesiastical matters, as far as the Catholic Church was concerned, the above territory in its early times stood under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec; after its separation from Canada, it was Bishop Flaget of Bardstown (at present the diocese of Louisville in Kentucky) who first extended his spiritual care over the small number of

widely-scattered Catholics in this vast new territory acquired by the United States, in which, later on, were united, the dioceses of Cincinnati (1822), Detroit (1832), Vincennes (1834), Dubuque (1837), Chicago (1844), Milwaukee (1844) and the later suffragan sees in the States named.

Previous to the establishment of the diocese of Milwaukee, which at first comprised all Wisconsin, the latter, then still a territory, belonged to the diocese of Detroit. At the beginning of the year 1842, the Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, bishop of Zela, (*in partibus infidelium*), and administrator of the See of Detroit, sent the saintly and zealous Father Kündig to Wisconsin. Father Kündig, who was a native of the German-speaking part of Switzerland and had already labored a number of years in Ohio and later in Michigan, was the German-speaking pioneer-priest of Wisconsin. He came to Milwaukee by way of Green Bay—the oldest Catholic settlement in Wisconsin—where already in 1673 Père Marquette had established a mission at Fond du Lac. On his arrival in Milwaukee, which then was yet only a village, he finished the old St. Peter's Church, a small frame building, the erection of which the Catholics of the town, French, German and Irish, had just begun. The population of all Wisconsin was at that time less than 47,000 souls, amongst them quite a number of German Catholics. But only the southern part of Wisconsin Territory was as yet somewhat populated by white men. A sturdy class of people, who had only recently emigrated from the Old World, had settled in and around Milwaukee. Amidst great hardship and by hard work these new-comers gradually changed the wild forests into fertile fields. By the census of 1840 it was shown that sixty-eight per cent. of the inhabitants of Wisconsin were then tillers of the soil—farmers.

A letter of Father Kündig, written to a friend in Cincinnati, dated December 28, 1842, and published in the "Wahrheitsfreund" of said city, gives a glimpse of things as they then existed in Wisconsin. I glean from this letter

the following: The Germans who had settled in the neighborhood of Milwaukee were a contented set of people; the climate agreeing with them and the soil being rich; all felt happy in their new homes. But Father Kündig regretted that in this promising new field there were so few priests—only four or five—to attend to the spiritual wants of these new Catholic settlers. Further on Father Kündig wrote: “If our bishops knew what I know, they would all agree that no State is more in need of a bishop than Wisconsin. To convince you of this I will name the congregations I have organized since last June.”

Father Kündig then enumerates twenty congregations. Of these the congregation in Burlington, 36 miles southwest of Milwaukee, is classed as exclusively German and composed of forty families. In Milwaukee the German Catholics, who were then already a large proportion of the population, yet worshipped in the same church with the English and French speaking Catholics, but had separate service. The congregations in Spring Prairie—10 miles from Milwaukee, in Madison, Mineral Point and other settlements, contained also a good number of German families. Eleven of these newly organized congregations outside of Milwaukee were visited once a month by Father Kündig; the others, some of them being at a distance of over 100 miles from Milwaukee, he visited once every three months.

In the year 1844 the diocese of Milwaukee was created; and on May the 4th of said year Father Kündig had the great joy to greet as the first bishop of Milwaukee John Martin Henni, his old classmate and companion.

Bishop Henni was a countryman of Father Kündig; they had been in Rome in the year 1827 and together they had come to America in the following year, at the solicitation of Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati, who had met them in the Eternal City. The two students landed in New York in June, 1828, and without delay set out thence on their long and wearisome journey, by stage, to Cincin-

nati. They completed their studies in the seminary of Bardstown and together were ordained priests by Bishop Fenwick, on February 2, 1829. Both celebrated their first Mass also on the same day and in the same church—in old St. Peter's Cathedral in Cincinnati. The first field of labor of these two young priests was in the diocese of Cincinnati. In the year 1833, Father Kündig went to Detroit, where he labored zealously nine years. As mentioned above, he was then sent to Wisconsin by Bishop Lefevre. He stationed himself at Milwaukee, from whence he made his missionary journeys, mostly on horseback, into the neighboring country, which as before mentioned, at that time had just begun to be settled.

Wisconsin's population now kept on increasing steadily, the number of its inhabitants at the beginning of 1845 being in round numbers 70,000, of whom about 20,000 were of the Catholic faith. Milwaukee at that time numbered about 7,000 souls. Especially large were the arrivals of German Catholic immigrants. "Across the ocean we see them come, the harbingers of faith from German countries, inspired for the glory of God and humanity's welfare. Across the ocean and over the silent prairie, into the wild forests of the West we see them go, these honest German immigrants, industrious and strong in faith. We see how soon the first log-house appears, followed by hundreds of others; how amidst the new settlements the first unsightly little church rises up and alongside the pride of the German Catholics, the parochial school—the nursery of faith and morality. The former wilderness was changed into a blooming garden by German industry and endurance." (From the speech of the Rev. M. J. Lochemes at the Fifth State Convention of the German Catholics of Wisconsin on May 26, 1896.)

The congregations already existing were now strengthened; new settlements sprang into existence, and the number of chapels with schools attached increased. Many of these settlements were composed almost if not quite ex-



clusively of Catholics, and they could therefore practise their religion, with its beautiful out-door devotions, unmolested by scoffers of their Faith. In quite a number of the old German Catholic settlements which sprang up about half a century ago within a radius of about forty miles of Milwaukee, and also further in the interior, this exclusively Catholic character has been maintained up to the present day. Processions through the fields are yet held regularly on Corpus Christi Day and other feasts, as is the custom in the Catholic countries of the Old World, whence the old settlers emigrated.

The first important act of Bishop Henni on taking possession of his new see was to appoint as his Vicar-General the Rev. Father Kündig. Having prepared the soil and having for two years already indefatigably attended to the spiritual wants of the Catholics in the territory now constituting the diocese of Milwaukee, Father Kündig certainly was best aware of their condition and needs and therefore best fitted for this position of honor and trust. St. Peter's Church, the unseemly small frame-building erected only two years before and as yet the only church in Milwaukee, now bore the proud title of cathedral, and a scantily furnished little frame-house served as the episcopal residence. The Catholics, mostly new-comers from the old country and almost all belonging to the laboring class, were poor. There were then in Wisconsin no large parishes where priests could comfortably be stationed. Privations only, tribulations and hard work awaited those who might want to choose this part of the Lord's Vineyard to labor in. Notwithstanding this uninviting situation, in a worldly sense, a brave band of learned and zealous priests, men animated by the love of God and anxious to save the souls of their fellow-men, soon offered their services to Bishop Henni, willing to help him and share his cares and struggles in the interest of religion. Rev. Michael Heiss, who died in the year 1890 as second archbishop of Milwaukee, had accompanied Bishop Henni

from Cincinnati to Milwaukee. At the beginning of the year 1846 the number of priests had increased to eighteen. Later on, in the fall of 1847, there came from Europe the learned, eloquent and indefatigable, Dr. Joseph Salzmann; the foundation of the Salesianum, from which ecclesiastical institution so many priests have gone forth into missionary fields, was the joint-work of Heiss and Salzmann. Both have gone to their eternal reward, and the mortal remains of these brave defenders of the faith have fittingly found their last resting place side-by-side beneath the chapel of the Salesianum. "My battle field is in America, on this battle field I will die." These are Dr. Salzmann's own words, and he kept his word. "Valiantly he has fought, as behooves a brave soldier, and now he rests from his victories by the side of his episcopal friend, surrounded by those institutions, whose existence is due to the zeal of both : the Seminary of St. Francis of Sales and the Normal School of the Holy Family."

Dr. Salzmann, on his arrival in Milwaukee in 1847, was accompanied by the Rev. Fathers Anton Urbanek, Michael Wisbauer and Fabian and the theological students Gernbauer and Fusseder. Other pioneer priests of these early times were the Rev. Fathers Paulhuber, Rehrl and P. Inama.

The German Catholic population in Milwaukee had kept on increasing and the erection of a separate church had become an urgent necessity. The corner-stone of St. Mary's Church, the mother of the ten other flourishing German Catholic Churches now in Milwaukee, was laid on the first Sunday after Easter in the year 1846, and the church was dedicated in the fall of the same year, Rev. Michael Heiss being St. Mary's first pastor, followed by Dr. Salzmann. In the year 1850, Mother Carolina Friess landed in New York with the first band of School Sisters of Notre Dame, coming from Bavaria, and settled in Milwaukee. A few years later a convent arose and since then

more than two thousand sisters scattered from there through Wisconsin and sixteen other States as the teachers of over seventy thousand children.

Milwaukee is now a metropolitan see. Rt. Rev. Doctor Henni, its pioneer bishop, having been created archbishop in 1875. Four years later, his life companion in missionary work and trusted counselor, the venerable Rev. Martin Kündig, the noble, self-sacrificing, saintly pioneer priest, died at the age of 74 years. He was laid to rest in Calvary Cemetery. At the interment of his venerated remains officiated Rev. Father Hermann Joseph Holzhauer, the pioneer priest of the German Catholics of the westside of Milwaukee—the missionary, who at first was Dr. Salzmann's assistant at St. Mary's and afterwards for forty years pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Milwaukee, now also rests in peace beneath the sanctuary of the same church.

Archbishop Henni died September 7, 1881, and his remains are resting beneath the sanctuary of St. John's Cathedral. He was truly an apostolic man, untiring, humble and beloved by all who knew him. His memory will ever be cherished and his name will be inscribed in the history of Wisconsin as the name of not only the great pioneer bishop but also as one of Wisconsin's greatest and best men. And "the history of the Catholic Church of the United States of America will ever point with pride to John Martin Henni, who was the first prelate of German descent to wear the Roman pallium in America, and who in truth deserves to be called the patriarch of the northwest."

Let us now take a glance at the present state of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin. While Wisconsin, at the arrival of Bishop Henni in 1844, had only from 7,000 to 8,000 Catholics, only five or six priests, with probably not more than that number of small churches, at his death the Catholic population, now divided into three dioceses, had grown to 312,800 souls; the churches numbered 471 and

the priests, 337; besides this there were 162 parochial schools attended by 21,330 children.

At the present time the latest statistics give us the following figures regarding the status of the Church in Wisconsin: Archdiocese of Milwaukee—priests, 272; churches, 271; parochial schools, 148; children in schools, 25,835; Catholic population, 200,000. Diocese of Green Bay—priests, 120; churches, 178; schools, 71; children in schools, 11,780; Catholic population, 125,000. Diocese of La Crosse—priests, 124; churches, 196; schools, 63; children in schools, 9,078; Catholic population, 78,000. This gives a grand total, at the end of the year 1895, of priests in Wisconsin, 516; churches, 645; parochial schools, 282; children attending these schools, 46,693; Catholic population, 400,000. In this Catholic population the Catholics of German birth or German descent are numerically the strongest.

I cannot better close this very incomplete sketch of Catholicity in Wisconsin than by quoting once more from Rev. Father Lochemes' beautiful oration on, "The German Catholics of Wisconsin," mentioned above. In paying a well-deserved tribute to the German pioneers of Wisconsin, Father Lochemes said: "Wisconsin has given them a new home, they are sworn to love and fealty to the State and they have well kept their oath. And besides, they have brought abundant compensation for what their new home has offered them, they having implanted into their new home those gifts and good qualities which distinguish the German people. To us they have thereby bequeathed a dear legacy, which we must guard and nurse. . . .

"Among all the gifts which the German pioneers of Wisconsin have bequeathed to us, there stands as the highest their fervent faith and their faithfulness in religious and civil life. Of their fervent faith the magnificent churches, parochial schools and benevolent institutions everywhere give the best narration. Of their sense

of duty towards the Church, of their true Catholic spirit, not diluted, but based on the spirit of St. Peter, the many Catholic conventions, which are but great demonstrations of Catholic life and faithfulness to Catholic principles, give proof. Of their loyalty to the State testimony is given by history, which proves that the Catholics of German speech, together with all their brethren of the same faith, were at all times seeking the welfare of their country and always stood up for law and order.

“We profess only one faith, the faith of the Catholic Church. And with due reverence for the land of our ancestors, we acknowledge but one country, which we are ready to defend with our blood—the country to which erst, the first Catholic immigrant, Columbus, the Genoese hero of the faith, first brought freedom’s greeting: the land of the star-spangled banner: Columbia, the gem of the Ocean!”





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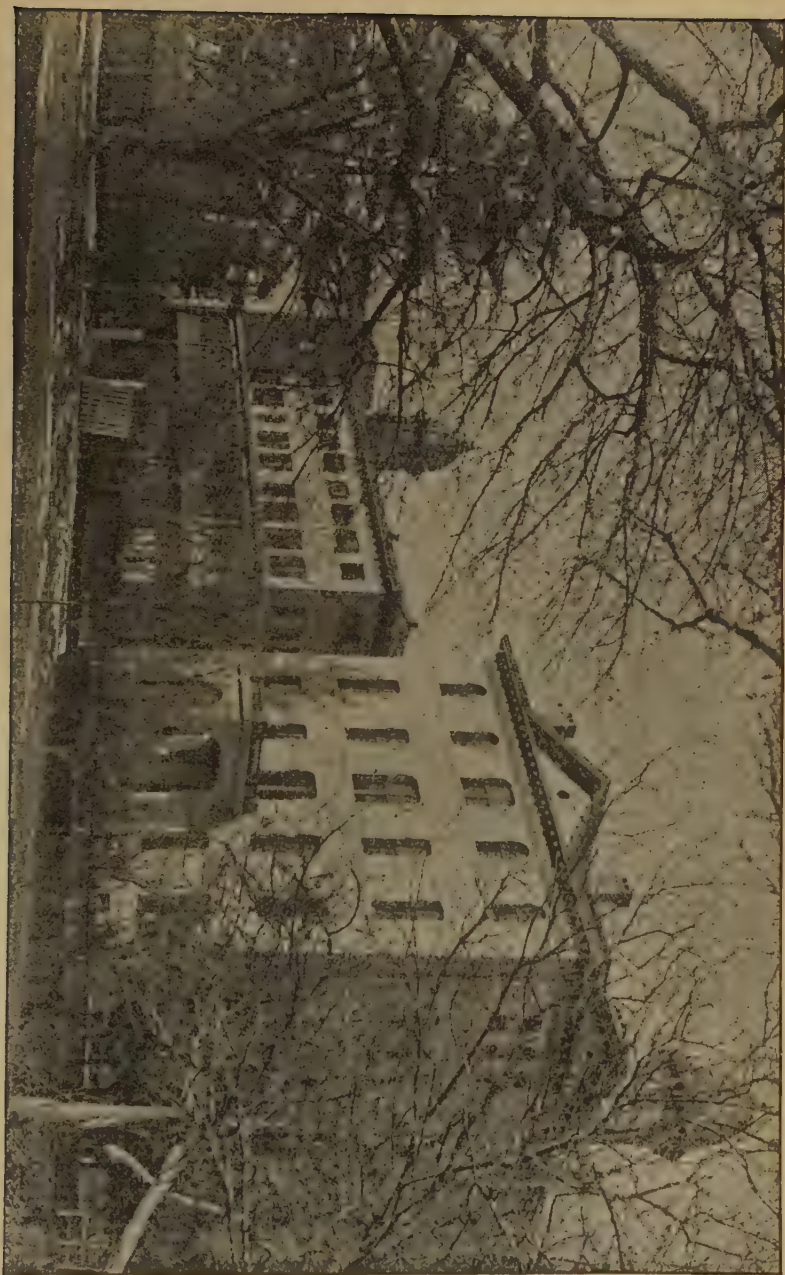
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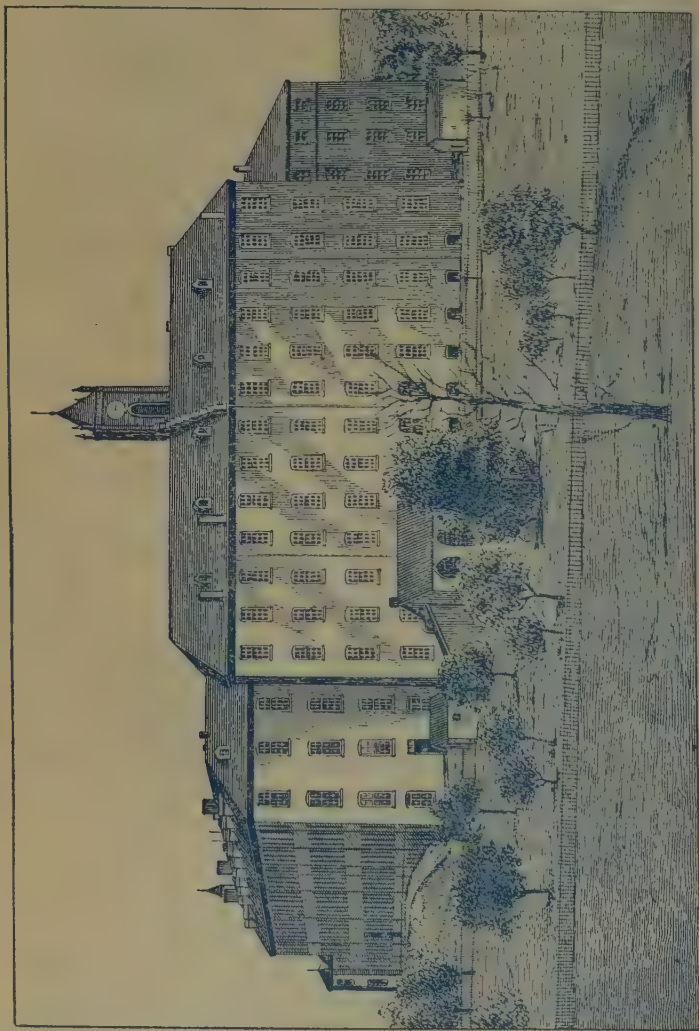
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OF

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# THE HISTORY OF COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

A. D. 1745-1803.

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BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

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*Edited by Francis T. Furey, A.M.*

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## CHAPTER V.

CAPTAIN BARRY IN THE "ALLIANCE" TAKES GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO FRANCE "ON BUSINESS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO AMERICA"—THE CRUISE OF THE "ALLIANCE"—RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES—"I SERVE THE COUNTRY FOR NOTHING"—BARRY REQUESTS WASHINGTON TO SECURE THE EXCHANGE OF HIS TORY BROTHER-IN-LAW, CAPTAIN WILLIAM AUSTIN.

We will now return to Kessler's "Narrative," in which we read: "Before the *Alliance* was again ready for sea, the year for which the crew had been shipped expired, and a new shipment became necessary. Such was the attachment of the crew to Captain Barry that, on their being paid off and the question put whether they would ship again, they cheerfully agreed to enter.

"I know of no instance of one declining. Captain Barry, however, refused to admit such as had conducted themselves grossly amiss, and the vacancy thereby or otherwise occasioned was supplied without any difficulty. As to impressment, it was never practised but in one solitary instance, and that as a just punishment for knowingly assisting and harboring a deserter from the ship. As to desertion, it was so rare that I cannot recollect more than two or three instances during the whole time of Captain Barry's command, though it was usual in every port (one

only excepted, and in that only while Captain Barry was absent) to permit the crew, by eight or ten at a time, by turns to go on shore for twenty-four hours."

While the ship was undergoing repairs, Captain Barry came to Philadelphia and had interviews with the Marine Committee of Congress, planning measures for not only "destroying the trade of the enemy, but also in producing funds to be applied to the support of the naval service." In the meantime, however, the victory at Yorktown had been won and Cornwallis' army captured. That was the "circumstance which required the *Alliance* to be employed in another way" than had been arranged for at the conferences. Accordingly the following "sailing instructions," the original of which is in the possession of Mr. Samuel Castner, Jr., of Philadelphia, were sent to Captain Barry, at Boston, directing him to take General Lafayette to France "on business of the utmost importance to America":

"NAVY OFFICE,  
"PHILAD'A, Nov. 27th, 1781.

"SIR: In my first instruction, bearing date the 21st Sept. last, I mentioned that it was my intention that you should proceed with the *Alliance* and *Deane* Frigates on a Cruise, as soon as they were ready for sea, and afterwards I repeated this in conversation when you was here, as my fixed resolution, and I now declare that it was my desire you should have done so, in hopes that you might not only assist in destroying the trade of our Enemy, but also in procuring some Funds, to be applied in support of our Naval Service—Circumstances have however turned up, which require that for the present, the *Alliance* should be employ'd another way, which was intimated to you in my letter of the 9th Inst. whereby you are required not to leave Boston without my further Instructions, this was occasioned by the application of the Hon'ble Major General Marquis De La Fayette, for a passage to France, whither

he is to go in pursuance of the orders he has received from his Excellency the Commander in Chief, on business of the utmost importance to America.—

“I hope by this time the *Alliance* is manned and in every respect ready for Sea, but should she still want men, and part of a crew are engaged for the *Deane*, they had best be turned over to the *Alliance*, so as to complete her Complement—You will also have it in your power to take on board such French seamen as the Consul can procure, in consequence of his instructions from the Minister of France on that subject; and if after every other effort is made, you still fall short, application must be made to the Governor of Massachusetts, for permission to impress; in this case the Marquiss will join in such application, which will give it great weight—You are to receive on board the *Alliance* Frigate, under your command; the following Officers and Gentlemen with their Servants and Baggage.—The Hon’ble Major General De La Fayette, The Viscomte De Noailles, the Hon’ble General Du Portail, Colonel Gouvion, Major La Colombe, Major Capitain, Mons’r Poiry secretary to the Marquis and their Attendants or servants about fifteen in Number. You must not admit any other Passengers, as these will be sufficient, & I am directed by Congress to provide the Marquis with a Passage; therefore should any other persons apply for passage, you must answer that you are full & the number limited; but I must make an exception, that is, to admit any other person or persons, that the Marquis may desire, but upon no other terms than at his request.—With these Gentlemen on board, you are to depart from Boston as soon as you can, and proceed with all possible expedition for the Coast of France, pushing into the first safe Port that you can make, the safe and speedy arrival of the Marquis, is of such importance, that I think it most consistent with my duty to the United States, to restrain you from cruizing on the passage thither. You are therefore to avoid all Vessels, and keep in mind, as your sole object, to make a



quiet and safe passage to some port in France; immediately after your arrival there, these Gentlemen will land with their Servants and baggage, in doing which, you will give them all necessary assistance; and I have too good an opinion of your Politeness as a Gentleman, to think it necessary to say any thing of that attention & civility, they are entitled to receive, and which I am sure you will show to them.—But in order to facilitate your doing so, I have directed Mr. Brown, to lay in the necessary Stores for their accommodation, respecting which, he will consult you, let it be done with discretion, remember that we are not rich enough to be extravagant, nor so poor as to act meanly.—

“As the *Alliance* is copper bottomed, I hope she will not want anything done to her, and as she will be well fitted and supplied in Boston, it is to be presumed, that nothing will be wanted on her arrival in France.—You may therefore, after landing your Passengers &c. immediately proceed on a Cruise, where you can promise yourself of the best chance of Success.—I calculate your Arrival to happen about the Middle of January and I am content that your stay in the European Seas, should continue until the first of March, therefore write to Doctor Franklin Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, and to Thomas Barclay Esqr. Consul from these States that you will come into the Port of L'Orient, on, or before, the first day of March next, in order to receive their Dispatches for America, I desire that they may be lodged with some Person at that Port ready, and be delivered to you on that day.—

“Should it so happen, that after your arrival in France, you cannot proceed on a cruise without supplies or repairs, that may by accidents of the Sea, have become necessary; you must in that case prevail with the Marquis, to give you credit, and I shall desire Doctor Franklin to discharge the Amount, but Sir, you must remember that all the Money we have or can get in France, will be wanted for other more important purposes, wherefore I charge you,

not to expend one Livre more than is absolutely necessary, at any time during this Voyage.—

“Should you be fortunate enough to make some valuable prizes, you will exercise your own Judgment and Discretion as to the Ports or Places best to send them to, for Condemnation, and Sale; all that you send to France, you will address to Thomas Barclay Esqr. Consul of America in France, or to his order, I shall trust to him to have them sold to the best Advantage, and to hold the share which appertains to the United States, at my Disposal; the share which may belong to the Officers & Crew, he may hold subject to your orders, and therefore you had best get an Agent appointed by the Officers and Crew, to act for them.—You know Mr. Barclay is an honest man & a Merchant, so that I think there is no doubt of strict Justice being done by him.—Any Prizes you send for America, had best be addressed to me, or my order, and I will put them under proper management—but for your better Government, I will enclose herein a List of Gentlemen at different places in Europe, and America, that I think may be entrusted with the Management of Prizes.—

“You will remember that public Intelligence is always useful, if any thing in that line comes to your Knowledge, write to Doctr. Franklin at Paris, John Adams Esqr, at Amsterdam, or to me here—to me you will constantly write of your Proceedings and the Events that occur.—

“You will take care to be in the Port of L'Orient, on the first day of March if possible, inquire for the Dispatches of Doctr. Franklin, Mr. Barclay &c. receive them on board together with any other Letters for America, and such Passengers, as our Minister may desire, or you approve, take under your Convoy such French or American Vessels, as may be ready and desire your Protection; and sail for this Coast, as soon after the said first day of March as you conveniently can, on the Passage hither use your Discretion as to chasing Ships at Sea, and finally make such Port, as you, from Circumstances shall find most conve-

nient, altho I would rather prefer this place ; but wherever you arrive keep your Men together, until you receive fresh Instructions.—Our service requires that your Officers and Crew should be well used, and it is an honour to Humanity to treat Prisoners so—I know your Sense of Duty & Patriotism, will lead you into all proper Measures and Exertions for the safety of your Ship, for the Success of her Voyage & Cruise ; and for the Promotion of your Country's Interest. With the best Wishes

“ I am

“ Sir

“ Yours &c

“ ROBT. MORRIS.”

The active and determined efforts of Captain Barry to secure a crew for this voyage are shown by a letter written to him from Boston on December 21 by Captain Samuel Nicholson, commander of the *Deane*, in which the writer said :

“ Yours of the 20th ordering forty men from the *Deane* to be immediately got ready with an account of the term of enlistment &c. to be delivered to one of your officers, whom you will send for that purpose I received this day at noon.

“ If Captain Barry has any power or authority to Order my men from the ship they were positively enlisted for, I beg to be made acquainted with it, at present such a proceeding is quite new to me and I believe unprecedented in any service whatever.—

“ Those men that offered to go with you yesterday or any others that are willing or can be prevailed on to go on board the *Alliance* are ready to be delivered your officer whenever you please to send for them.”

From the *Alliance*, off Boston, Lafayette wrote to Washington, on December 21, 1781, saying: “ There still

remains some doubt of our going to-morrow. The moment I am in France I will write you minutely how things stand and give you the best account in my power. I have received every mark of affection in Boston and am much attached to this town, to which I am under so many obligations ; but from public considerations I have been impatient to leave it and go on board the frigate, where I receive all possible civilities, but where I had rather be under sail than at anchor."

The importance of Lafayette's mission to France at that juncture may be estimated by the earnestness with which Washington represented the state of affairs to him, in a letter dated from Mt. Vernon on November 15, in which we read: "Not till the 5th was I able to leave York.\* Respecting the operations of the next campaign I declare in one word that the advantages of it to America and the honor and glory of it to the allied arms in these States must depend absolutely upon the naval force, which is employed in these seas and the time of its appearance next year. No land force can act decisively, unless it is accompanied by a marine superiority ; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it. It follows, then, as certain as that night succeeds the day that without a decisive naval force we can do nothing definite, and with it everything honorable and glorious. A constant naval superiority would terminate the war speedily ; without it I do not know that it will ever be terminated honorably."

We hear but little of the operations of the navy during the Revolution. Historians tell of battles on land, but relate little of those on the sea. The extracts from Washington's letters here introduced show that the navy was a

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\* It may be remarked that this statement corroborates other proofs that Washington was not at a *Te Deum* at St. Joseph's church, Philadelphia, on November 4, 1781.



strong right arm of the Colonies in their revolt against oppression ; and he is worthy of double honor who commanded the chief American vessel, the *Alliance*.

Kessler thus refers to this voyage to France : "Orders having been issued to repair the ship for the reception of and conducting the Marquis de la Fayette to France, on the 23d of December, 1781, we left Boston with the Marquis and a number of French sailors, passengers ; nothing of note passed on the passage except an oft-time expressed wish of the crew ' that the Marquis was in France.'

"As Captain Barry's orders appeared to be not to speak any vessel, but to make the best of his passage with the Marquis, on one occasion (a ship being in sight which appeared, as the crew expressed it, as if she could give them sport), the discontent was so apparent that the captain could not but be sensible of it, and which appeared to increase the conflict in his mind between the call of duty and his inclination. Instead of reprobating and promptly punishing, what on other occasions would have been the case, he was governed by a sullen silence which, if propriety would have permitted him to break, would have pronounced : ' I also wish the Marquis was in France.' "

Captain Barry carried out his instructions, and ere long "the Marquis was in France"; for the *Alliance* arrived at L'Orient on January 18, 1782.

Thomas Balch, in his "French in America during the Revolutionary War," says: "Lafayette left Boston for France on December 23, 1781. He reached his country in twenty three days, where he again devoted himself to the cause of the Americans, employing for that purpose the favor which he enjoyed at court and the sympathies which his conduct had gained for him in public opinion."

"Dispatches for Congress not being ready," says Kessler, "we sailed on a cruise and returned in seventeen days without making any captures. On February 10, 1782, we left L'Orient on a short cruise, during which we chased many vessels and spoke with sixteen, which, however,



appeared to be neutral vessels. On 27 February we returned to L'Orient."

While Barry was on this cruise Franklin, then at Passy, near (now in) Paris, sent orders to him to "go to Brest, where the goods were assembled, and take what he could"; but Barry had "gone on a cruise before my letter reached him," he wrote to Robert Morris on March 4, 1782. In this missive he said, further: "Relying on Captain Barry complying with my orders to go to Brest, to take in what he could of our goods and sail with the convoy, which does not go till towards the end of the month, I delayed answering. I have just received a letter from him acquainting me with his return from an unsuccessful cruise and his resolution to return to America immediately after the return of the post. It seems he had not, when he wrote, received my letter directing him to call at Brest." (Wharton's "Dip. Cor.," vol. V, p. 219.)

We must again rely on Kessler, who says: "On March 16th, 1782, we again left Le Orient for America. On the passage spoke several vessels, but none of the enemy.

"May 10. Made Cape Henlopen, wind northward, but could not get into Delaware Bay. A very large ship (*Chatham*, 64) with her tender being there, which gave us chase out again and appeared to gain on us, when by our running into the shoal water (the tender keeping between us and the enemy and oft sounding) they gave over the chase, after which, the wind coming from the southward, we run for and, on May 13, arrived at New London." "When chased by the *Chatham*, the *Alliance* sailed fifteen knots an hour and run down the *Speedwell*, the British sloop of war, which attempted to prevent her escape." (Goldsborough's "Mil. and Nav. Chronicle," vol. I.)

From New London Barry wrote two letters to an intimate friend of his in Philadelphia, John Brown, Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, in the second of which occurs the famous declaration, "*I serve the country for nothing.*" The originals are in the possession of Mr. Brown's de-

scendants residing at Carlisle, Pa., by whose permission Rev. Henry G. Ganss, Rector of St. Patrick's Church, in that town, has been enabled to supply copies of them. They are as follows :

"NEW LONDON, May 16 : 1782

"DEAR SIR : I have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival here after a tajous pasage of 59 days I made an attempt to get to Phila. but the 10 Inst. was chased out of the cape by a two decker and tender my Provisions being short I put away for this place and off New York was Chased by two frigats—I have some goods on board for you I wish you would write me word what is to be done with them time will not permit me to write a long letter at present in short it is unsartin whether this will find you in Phila. for I am told you was in Boston 10 days ago not aprize this trip hard luck indeed pray make my Compliments to all friend & believe me

"Dear Brown to be your sincere  
"friend & very humble servt

"JOHN BROWN Esqr.

"JOHN BARRY"

"[Addressed] JOHN BROWN Esqr.

"Phila."

"NEW LONDON June 4 : 1782

"MY DEAR BROWN : Your Waggon and Letter came to hand about four hours ago immediately on its arrival I loaded it According to your instructions the wagon would not stow all your goods therefore their is a large Bale left behind and I took the Liberty to put a small trunk of mine in sooner than not fill up the vacancy which you will please to deliver to Mrs. Barry and will pay you [her portion ?] of Waggon hire that may bee I think from the bulk of the Bale it cannot be Summer goods their fore it is not of so much conquen but I shall lave it in the hands of Mr. Mumford and take his recept. who by the by I wood

not trust him farther than I could see him In short I never was in such a damb country in my life—Mr. Morris sent me orders by the express that your letter came by to Join the French Frigats at Road Island and be under his command Mr. Morris must be unacquainted with his rank or he must think me a drol kind of afellow to be commanded by a Midshipman I can assure you I dont feel myself so low a Comm. as to brook to such orders however I dont see it will be in my power to sail this year of our lord as I have not one hundred men on board to do duty and since my arrival here I have not got but one man all tho I have had a rondevous open this fortnight I shall write Mr. M To morrow on the subjt I suppose he will be much offended I assure you all tho I serve the country for nothing I am determined that no Midshipman in any service shall command me let him be a Chev. or what he will—You talk of seeing me in New London I should be be very glad to see you here but you may be assured you never was in so miserable a place in your life all the people here lives five miles from home not [a house here] I been in since my arrival but the Tavern & one Irishmans one of the wagon Horsus gave out on the road and I am oblige to advance Money to Michael Waldrom the amount is sixty dollars which you will please to pay Mrs. Barry & oblje your

“Dear Brown

“Your Humble sert

“JOHN BARRY”

“JOHN BROWN Esqr”

“P. S. the top of the wagon being but very indifferent I put a carpet in for Mrs. Barry——”

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On May 30 Captain Barry applied to Washington for the exchange of his Tory brother-in-law, who ranked as a captain and had been captured on board a merchant vessel

bound for New York. This is the letter, as copied from the "Washington Papers," vol. 57, p. 12. :

"NEW LONDON MAY 30th 1782.

"SIR I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that from the account brought in here, the French Fleet from France is by this time Arrived in Virginia, they having sailed upwards of two Months, & was Seen six Days ago off New York standing to the S. W. the Wind at N. E.—the above acct. we have by some Men landed on Block Island from on board an English Frigate that was Chac'd by them & escap'd under Cover of the Night.—

"The Commissary in this place, Mr. Shaw informs Me that no prisoners is Exchang'd without your Excellency's orders I have one favor to ask of Your Excellency that is that you will Suffer a Captain by the Name of William Austine taken in a Mercht. Vessel from Trutollo bound to New York, to be Exchang' or go in on Parole to send a Captain of Equal Rank out for him—he is an Old acquaintance of Mine, and a particular Friend—if your Excellency will be pleas'd to grant the above favor I shall ever esteem it as a Mark of your Friendship for

[Addressed] His Excellency "Sir

Genl. WASHINGTON

Head Quarters

[Endorsed] N. London

30 May 1782

from

Capt. BARRY—referred to  
Comy of Prisoners Arrd

"Your Excellencys Most Obedt.

"& very humble Servant

"JOHN BARRY."

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On July 12 John Brown, the Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, sent to Captain Barry this list of agents to whom he was to address his prizes: Boston, Thomas Russell; Portsmouth, John Langdon; Rhode Island, George Olney; Connecticut, Thomas Mumford; New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, To order of Agent of Ma-

rine; North Carolina, Nathan Allen, Edenton; South Carolina, George Abbott Hale; Georgia, John Wereak; France, To order of Thomas Barclay, Consul General; Holland, To order of His Excellency John Adams; Martinico, Mons. Diant Munti; Cape François, Step. and Ange Ceronio; Curaçao, Governor Hill; Havannah, Robert Smith; New Orleans, Oliver Pollock. (Original of list in collection of Charles Roberts.)

James Nicholson wrote from Middletown, Conn., to Barry, in New London, saying: "Your large boat will be finished by the last of this week. The other will be immediately set up and forwarded with all expedition. I wish you would send me before I go to Philadelphia £80 or £90 to discharge your debts. It would enable me to continue the men at present employed on the ship until I return." (Collection of Charles Roberts.)

## CHAPTER VI.

### INVESTIGATION AS TO THE LOSS OF THE "MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE."

Congress having appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Lee, Ramsay and Lowell, to "examine Captain Barry touching the loss of the ship *La Fayette*," that distinguished naval officer came to Philadelphia and gave his testimony here. In July, 1782, the Committee made its report of the result of its examination, whereupon Congress, on the 15th of that month, ordered "that the Secretary transmit a copy of the report to Captain Barry to be compared with the log-book of the *Alliance*, corrected, if there should be any mistakes, and signed and sworn to by him, and returned to Congress together with Captain Robinson's Letter referred to in his information." The papers which Captain Barry, in response to the orders of Con-



gress, sent to the Committee in answer to its request, are as follows, as preserved in the "Washington Papers," vol. IV, pp. 321 *et seq.*:

"N' LONDON Augt. 1. 1782

"SIR: Inclos'd is an attested Copy of the Circumstances Relative to the Marquis La Fayette taken from the Logg Book of the Frigate *Alliance* together with a Copy of what I related to a Committee of Congress when in Phila. last. You have here with a Copy of Capt. Robesons Letter to Me, the Original I have Sent on to His Excellency the President of Congress As well As a Copy of the Inclos'd Minutes taken from the *Alliances* Logg Book—I cannot find that I have erred in My Relation to the Committee of Congress in any one Circumstance. the Word old Gun Barrels Must have been added, as I never heard whither they were Old or New. . therefore Could Not tell, & Topmast Stay sail in Stead of Topsail, the Latter must have been a Mistake in Copying—I shall send a Duplicate of those papers by the Next post after this, which I hope will Come Safe to hand, & give Satisfaction——

"I Remain

"Sir—

"Your Most Obedt.

"humble Servt.

"JOHN BARRY"

"CHARLES THOMPSON Esqr. }

"Secret.y of Congress" }

[Endorsed] No. 154

Letter from Capt. Jno. Barry  
to the Secy. of Congress—

August 1st. 1782.

rec'd Augt. 27th

"An Attested Copy of what I related to the  
Committee of Congress in Philadelphia

"That on My Arrival at L'Orient in France about the 7th of March 1781, having orders to take in Any publick Stores or Convoy Any Ships Containing Such Stores for the United States, I enquired of Mr. Moylan the Agent

there whither there were any public Goods for Me to Carry & was answered there was not, for that a Ship was chartered by Mr. Williams for that purpose Cdo. Laurens & Myself examined some bales of the Clothing. & thought the Cloth Good,—but did not unpack Any of them, so as to Judge of the Size of the uniforms I advised the Captain of the *La Fayette* to go Immediately to Brest. & sail with the Convoy then going from that Port, but instead of doing this, he Sent his Seaman to other Ships, & remained in Port. I thought the Capt. shewed Constantly a Reluctance in preparing to Sail & when I got him under my Convoy which was towards the last of March 1781 he appeared very unwilling to Make Sail.—After having been about three weeks at Sea—in a Gale of Wind, & during a squawl which Split the Fore Sail & Fore Top mast Stay sail of the *Alliance* so that she could not put before the Wind, the *La Fayette* Disappear'd.—When the Squawl Commenc'd she was within hailing Distance of the *Alliance*.

“Capt. Robeson of South Carolina, who was then on board the *La Fayette* has informed Me by Letter, that in the thickest of the Squawl the Capt. of the *La Fayette* put his Ship before the Wind and Sailed Away—tho he Capt. Robeson remonstrated with him that the *Alliance* Could not Steer that Course, & that he Must inevitably loose his Convoy—this was directly Contrary to his proper Course. I gave the Capt. of the *La Fayette* Signals both of Colours & Guns, but he went off without Making Any Signal—so that tho I cruised for him two Days I could not fall in with him——

“The *La Fayette* was an Indiaman exceedingly old, but sailed very Well; she Carried Twenty-six Eighteen pounders on one Deck, & Twelve or Fourteen Six pounders on her Fore Castle & quarter Deck—with about two hundred Men.

“Mr. Williams Inform'd me that he Chartred this Ship of Mr. de Chaumont at Doctr. Franklins Table for Ten

Guineas pr. Ton Measurement, that there was no Charter party but a Verbal agreement that she should be ready by Octo. 1780. The Freight for about Eleven hundred Tons measurement, was paid by Mr. Williams in Bills on Doctr. Franklin before the Capt. Sign'd the Bills of Loading which were to Land the Cargo in any part of America—From a Calculation Made by Mr. Williams and Myself, the public Stores shipped in the *La Fayette*, amounted to about Four hundred & fifty Tons—I was Inform'd by Mr. Williams & Mr. Moylan that what was shipped on the public Account was. One hundred Tons of Salt petre, Twenty six Iron Eighteen pounders—Fifteen Thousand Gun barrels, some soal & harness Leather, Uniforms for Ten Thousand Men, & Cloth for five or Six Thousand, yet the Ship Appeared to be very Deeply Laden.

“JOHN BARRY”

“NEW LONDON Augt. 2. 1782

“State of Connecticut Ss County of New London 2d. Augt. 1782

“Then personally appeared John Barry Esquire Comr. of the Contl. Frigate *Alliance* & made solemn Oath to the truth of the above deposition by him Subscribed.

“Before me

“JOSHUA COIT Justice of Peace.”

“NEW LONDON 24 July 1782.

“SIR: I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the proceedings taken from the Logg Book of the Frigate *Alliance* relative to the *Marquis La Fayette*, a Ship Loaded with Continental Stores and under the Convoy of the Frigate *Alliance*.

“Port Louis 28th March 1781, hoisted a Red & White Pendant at the Mizzen Peek, as a Signal for the *Marquis*



now have few notes - from hence, not  
There is some my removal but the bank  
of one such means & one of the wagon horses gave  
out on the road and Sam Oblige to advance money to  
Michael Watson the amount is sixty Dollars which  
you will please to pay Mr Barry & Oblige your  
O Dear Brown your humble servant  
John Brown Esq

John Barry

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM COMMODORE BARRY TO JOHN BROWN, ESQ.



As soon he will be much offended if

~~he is not~~ ~~by the same~~ ~~date~~

~~any place~~ I assure you all the is

the country for nothing. I am determined

that no. I do hope man in any service

I shall command me let him be a

or both of the will. You both of service

in New London. I do hope you glad to see you



*La Fayette* to get under sail—the *Marquis* did not Comply with the Signal, but remained at her Moorings—the 29th made a Signal for the *Marquis* to get under way. She still Continued at her Moorings—the 30th hoisted a Red & White Pendant at the Mizen Peek as a Signal for the *Marquis* to get under way—Capt. Barry & the Pilot went on board the *Marquis* in the *Alliance's* pinnace to know the Reason the Capt. did not Comply with the Signal—Soon after Capt. Barry & his Pilot got on board the *Marquis*, She got under Sail.—Shortly after Capt. Barry & the Pilot Came on board the *Alliance*, we Slipped our Moorings & proceeded to Sea in Company with the *Marquis*—April 3d Fell in with two Privateers, gave each of them a Broad Side, one of them Struck, the other Run, the *Marquis* at that time some Distance to Leeward—hove out a Signal for her to take Charge of the Privateer that had struck, while we went in Chace of the other, which we shortly after took—April 25th. Blowing Very hard Gale—at half past 6 A. M. Came on a Very hard Squall, Split our Fore-sail, & Fore Top Mast Staysail the *Marquis* then in Sight.—At half past 8. lost sight of the *Marquis*.—Soon afterwards bent a New Fore Sail, & Fore Topmast Staysail—the 26th. the *Marquis* not in sight, as soon as night Came on, shew'd false fires every hour—the 26 & 27th Cruiz'd about in order to find the *Marquis*, but all to no purpose.—

“Your Excellency will have here Inclos'd a Copy of a Letter from Capt. Wm. Robeson. the original being already forwarded.

“I have the honor to be

“with Proper Respect

“Your Excellency's

“Most obed't

“Hum'l Servt.

“JOHN BARRY.”

“His Excellency  
the President of Congress” }

(Copy.)

"STATE OF CONNECTICUT Ss }  
 "New London County }

"2d August 1782. There personally appeared John Barry Esqr. Com'r of the Cont'l Frigate *Alliance* and made solemn oath to the truth of the Relation contained in the above. Letter by him subscribed Before me

"JOSHUA COIT  
 "*Justice of Peace*"

In "The Papers of Congress," No. 78, (vol. IV, p. 307), we find a duplicate of this report, with the addition: "Capt. William Robeson, late of the State of South Carolina, who was a passenger on board the *Marquis*, and which convinces me that the Captain of the *Marquis* left the *Alliance* on purpose." A copy of Capt. Robeson's letter is appended:

"NANTES 22nd Jany. 1782

"DR. SIR: I very sincerely Congratulate you on the Recovery of your Wound, & your Safe Arrival again at L'Orient—I have been fated & decree'd otherways—I thought my Prospect in getting home pointed in the *Marquis* in Company with you very soon, untill the fatal morning of our Separation—that was the fault of Capt. Gallatheaue by bearing away Contrary to every argument I could use, Nevertheless a Good & a brave Man—Five Days after our parting we fell in with a Jamaica fleet, & after three hours Close & hard fighting, we were Oblig'd to Surrender to Very Superior force—The *Marquis* Reduc'd to a perfect hulk & afterwards tow'd thirteen Days by the *Suffolk* of 74.—I shall give you further particulars of this unfortunate event, when I have the pleasure of Seeing you.

"I am now about to make the other essay—pray when do you Sail and whether on a Cruize, or Return immediately, if the Question is fair, be pleas'd to Inform me, & at the

same time pray tell me what you did with my Trunk, it was directed to my then Brother Andrew Robeson at Philadelphia, who I have been unfortunate to loose—I will not trouble you with a Long Letter, as I do Suppose according to Custome, you have more Important Concerns to Occupy your mind—I will thank you to be so friendly as to drop a Line to the Care of Mr. Williams here, & you will Confer an Obligation on one who is truly & sincerely

“ Dr Sir—

“ Your Most Obed’t Servt.

(Copy)

(Signed) “ WM. ROBESON ”

“ Attested—John Barry ”

“ STATE OF CONNECTICUT Ss New London County.

“ New London 2d August 1782—Then personally appeared John Barry Esqr. Commander of the Continental frigate *Alliance* and made solemn oath to the truth of the Relation contained in the above Letter by him subscribed.

“ Before me JOSHUA COIT *Justice of Peace* ”

## CHAPTER VII.

CRUISE OF THE “ ALLIANCE ” IN THE WEST INDIES ON THE WAY TO FRANCE, 1782—GEORGE III ACKNOWLEDGES THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIES—THE “ ALLIANCE ” RETURNS TO AMERICA BY WAY OF THE WEST INDIES—BATTLE WITH THE “ SYBILLE ”—THE LAST BATTLE OF THE REVOLUTION, MARCH, 1783—PEACE DECLARED AND INDEPENDENCE WON.

We will again let Mate Kessler tell of the career of the *Alliance* under Captain Barry:

“ August 4, 1782. Left New London on a cruise at 4 A. M., and at 7 o’clock A. M. retook and sent into New London a brig (loaded with lumber and fish) which had been cut out of Rhode Island by the enemy.



"August 9th. Took a schooner bound for Bermudas for Halifax with a cargo of molasses, sugar and lime, and sent her to Boston.

"August 19th. Made the Bermudas islands, and after decoying a pilot on board and chasing several vessels, among which was the *Experiment*, privateer of 18 guns, which, however, got into St. George's harbor.

"August 23. Captain Barry sent the boat on shore with the captain and owner of the Bermudas schooner (taken on the 9th of August), and for them to inform the Governor that unless all the Americans which they had prisoners were sent on board the *Alliance*, he would remain three weeks to hinder any vessel from going in or coming out, and which he could not effectually do, as their whole force was not sufficient to cope with the *Alliance*.

"August 25. A small sloop was coming out of St. George's harbor, which was supposed to be coming with the prisoners, but unfortunately for them we were then in chase of and coming up with the *Hawk* privateer and her prize. The prize we took, but the privateer escaped, and other vessels heaving in sight, we continued chasing daily until 30th August, when we spoke a brig from Guadeloupe bound for Rhode Island, who gave information of the sailing of a large fleet from Jamaica, which we might overhaul and which Captain Barry immediately concluded to attempt by running Northeastward without again making Bermudas (we then being in Lat. 35.35).

"Sept. 8. Spoke a Nantucket brig from a whaling cruise, which we took on account of their having Admiral Digby's protection and permission to bring their oil to New York.

"Sept. 10. Sounded in 40 fathoms water on Newfoundland banks.

"Sept. 18. Took a brig, one of the Jamaica fleet, and sent for Boston; from her we learned that the *Ramilie*, 74, one of the convoy, foundered in a gale, and that the fleet was scattered.

"Sept. 24. Took two ships.

"Sept. 27. Took a large scow, and

"Sept. 28. Took a dismasted ship and all of said fleet and ordered them to Le Orient, where with our prizes we arrived on October 17th (18th), and the prisoners sent on shore except such as had entered. They went with much reluctance. They having families at Glasgow, where they chiefly belonged, was the only reason for not all the privates remaining with us. The separation was more like the separation of old friends than that of individuals of nations at war. That their treatment on board was good, a statement of the manner will show.

"As usual with Captain Barry, such part of the captains as could be conveniently accommodated were with him in the cabin, the remainder found themselves welcome in the wardrobe. The mates were received by the petty officers and the privates between decks amongst those of the *Alliance*, enjoying fare alike. No confinement, no abridgment of food nor any labor required of them. Amongst the prisoners were several officers of the 74 (which had foundered). The difference between the usual treatment given by British commanders to American officers (although of public vessels) and the treatment which they and the officers and crew of private vessels received from Captain Barry made them blush for their country.

"We captured three ships, one scow, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, all merchant vessels, variously loaded, with four of which we arrived at Le Orient. I was prize master of one of the four (I must here observe that through the friendship of Captain Barry I had been some time preferred to the station of a rated midshipman, and now commenced acting as a master's mate).

"Our prizes were put into the hands of an agent."

Captain Henry Johnson, at Bordeaux, on October 26, 1782, wrote to Barry, addressing him as "my dear friend": "With pleasure I hear of your arrival and the success you have met with. May you continue to be fortunate. I am

caulking my ship, fitting her rigging, but for what or who I cannot say, as I imagine she will be hauled up and everyone discharged. We have not capital enough to fit her. If so I shall be along to the North and Nantes or L'Orient. If nothing offers that I like, I shall make the best of my way to America, perhaps beg a passage of you—I hope you left your agreeable little woman well.” (Collection of Charles Roberts.)

On December 8 Captain Barry sent the annexed letter to Thomas Barclay, Esq., Commissioner of the United States at L'Orient. It is given by the kindness of Ferdinand J. Dreer, Esq., from his great autograph collection :

“OUTSIDE OF PORT LOUIS,  
“8 Dec. 1782.

“SIR : There is a number of men run away from the ship. You will take care not to pay any prize money or wages due but to those who have their Discharge from me.

“Thos. Hambleton and James Marshall is entitled to prize money. I am distressed. The doctor is not yet come on board.

“I remain

“Sir, Your Humble S't

“JOHN BARRY”

“THOS. BARCLAY, Esq.

“At L'Orient.”

Before this date, on November 30, preliminary terms of peace had been signed, and on December 5 George III had made his speech from the throne in a feeble, hesitating, trembling manner, saying he had given the “necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. I have pointed all my views and measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. I did not hesitate to go to the full length of the powers vested in me and offer

to declare them free and independent States. Religion, language, interest, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

Kessler's narrative is here resumed for the subsequent events of Barry's cruise :

"Dec. 9, 1782. *Alliance* left L'Orient on a cruise.

"Dec. 11. Chased and at 10 P. M. came up with the chase and found her to be of two tiers of guns. Captain Barry hailed. They gave no answer, but hailed in return, to which Captain Barry gave no answer. She not having altered her course or made any more sail from our first discovery of her led Captain Barry to think her either a neutral or that she was confident of her superior force, and therefore thought it prudent to refrain from firing or making further inquiry. The *Alliance* thereon hauled on the wind and left her steering on her course. After chasing several we on December 16 made Porto Sancto and on December 17 made the island of Madeira.

"January 8, 1783. Made Martinico. Went to St. Pere Harbor intending to get a fresh supply of water and rig a fresh main top mast. After getting in Captain Barry found orders there for him to proceed to the Havana to take in specie for Congress, and on January 11 we sailed for the Havana, where, after a stop of twelve hours at St. Eustatia and as much at Cape François, we arrived on January 17th."

On February 13th Captain Barry sent the annexed letter to the Governor of Havana (Charles Roberts' Collection) :

"SIR : I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that the frigate *Alliance* of which I am commander belonging to the Congress of America and the *Duc de Lauzun* another frigate which belongs to Congress are ready to sail from this port. It is of much consequence to my country and to the allied arms that those frigates should



immediately depart particularly as I am charged with important despatches from the Court of France which I have every reason to suppose are very important.—

“I beg that your Excellency will please to order permission for those frigates to leave this port and also that the American merchant vessels may be suffered to take the benefit of their convoy.”

“Your Humble Servant &c

“JOHN BARRY”

“His Excellency  
the Governor  
of Havana”

At that time rumors of peace and hopes for the cessation of hostilities were cheering the hearts of the patriots. We even get a glimpse of Captain Barry as a messenger of peace, though ready for war and, as we shall see, making war after peace had been agreed upon and the independence of his country acknowledged. On February 12, 1783, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published this “extract of a letter from Baltimore dated February 7th, 1783”:

“You see by the enclosed (the accounts from St. Kitts) what the opinion of peace is grounded on, which seems generally believed here: Added to this account we have a ship from St. Croix, in a short passage, that spoke a neutral schooner, the Captain of which assured that he had spoke Captain Barry, in the *Alliance* on his way to the Cape [François] to prevent any further operations in that quarter and that hostilities had absolutely ceased in Europe.” On February 26 the same newspaper and also the *Pennsylvania Journal* said: “Captain Barry in the *Alliance* frigate sailed from Cape François in January, for the Havanna, in order to take under his convoy the vessels that might be at that place bound to America.” And the *Journal* of February 26 published the annexed extract from the *Martinique Gazette* of January 15:



“The interesting news, which the American frigate *Alliance* brought us, being inserted at the end of our last publication, just upon the arrival of the vessels, it is with pleasure that we now, for our readers’ satisfaction, embrace the opportunity of giving that intelligence more particularly, from the account of Capt. Barry, who commands her.

“The *Alliance* having in her cruise taken several of the unfortunate Jamaica convoy, and sent them into different ports of France, the Captain intended to continue his cruise on the coast of England, to pick up some of the remains of that scattered fleet; in which he would undoubtedly have met with the desired success, had he not been forced by the blowing weather, which had done his ship a good deal of damage, to put into Port l’Orient; the time which was necessarily taken up in refitting, rendered it too late for him to pursue that design.—When the Marquis de la Fayette (who had been once a passenger in this vessel, and particularly knew and esteemed Capt. Barry) heard of his arrival, he went to see him at l’Orient, and there informed him that there was a grand expedition preparing at Cadiz, and asked him the favor to carry there, in case he should not be in time to overtake the fleet at Brest.

“Capt. Barre was afterwards informed, that that young nobleman had arrived in time at Brest, and that he had embarked for Cadiz.

———“An American packet boat which the Congress had sent from Philadelphia to France, was lying at l’Orient when the *Alliance* was there; the Capt. of the packet received a letter from Dr. Franklin, on the 6th of December, in which this Minister ordered him to hold himself in readiness to set out at a moment’s warning, saying he was going to send by him his dispatches to the Congress, announcing the signing the preliminaries of peace, on the 2d of December; and adding that he would also forward him at the same time an English passport. Capt. Barry the 2d Commodore of the continental marine, and an officer worthy of credit, saw this letter in the Captain of the

packet's possession, they read it over and over several times.—He further gives an account that before his leaving l'Orient, they had got intelligence of the fast arrival in the different ports of France, of the fleet which sailed from St. Domingo the 2d of October last, under convoy of the *Palmier* of 74 guns.—The letters from London look upon the *Ville de Paris*, *Centaur*, and *Glorieux* as lost, and they had certain information of the *Ramilies* of 74 and the *Jason* of 64 guns, having been abandoned, and afterwards gone to the bottom, by the damage they received in the gale of wind on the 17th of September.

“Some days before the sailing of the *Alliance*, there was a general talk of peace, and they were informed there were two new Commissioners arrived from London at Paris, and that the King of Great Britain had, contrary to custom, prorogued the Parliament to some time in December, no doubt with a view to give sufficient time for signing the preliminaries before the opening of the session.

“The Brest squadron sailed the 4th of December, it consisted of 10 ships of the line, and a considerable number of merchant and transport vessels, having on board 7000 regular troops; it was supposed they would reach Cadiz about the 11th or 12th of December, the combined fleet would then consist of about 50 sail of the line, under the Command of the Vice Admiral Comte d'Estaing, the Comte de Barras, and the Comte de Basset.

“It was the general opinion that the fleet would be ready to leave Cadiz by the 20th of December, having on board 30,000 regular troops; and that they would nevertheless put to sea without regarding the negociations for peace; for which they assigned this reason, that the expences of fitting out this expedition being already incurred, it was a matter of indifference whether the provisions should be made use of at anchor or at sea; and that this fleet becoming more formidable the instant they put to sea, would contribute to render the terms of peace more advantageous to us, and would also accelerate the fame.

"Capt. Barre on his arrival to the windward of Barbadoes, intended cruizing there for some time, but was chased for 24 hours by an English 50 gun ship."

We here resume the record of Captain Barry's career from Kessler's "Journal" :

"March 7th, 1783. Sailed after taking on board a large quantity of Dollars and in company with the Continental ship *Luzerne* of 20 guns, Captain Green, who also had a quantity of dollars on board for Congress. We left the Havana for the United States, after having taken on board between one and two hundred thousand dollars (specie) for Congress. On the passage one morning when it became light we discovered three Frigates right ahead within two leagues of us. The *Alliance* and *Luzerne* hove about and the three frigates gave us chase. The *Alliance* left them and the *Luzerne* fast, and Captain Barry seeing that they were gaining on the *Luzerne*, we lay by for her to come up. The enemy also immediately lay by. When the *Luzerne* came up Captain Barry told Captain Green to heave his guns overboard and put before the wind, while the *Alliance* would be kept by the wind that the *Luzerne* might escape. It was not probable that the enemy would attend most to the *Alliance*, and the *Alliance* was out of danger in consequence of her superior sailing. Captain Green threw overboard all his guns but two or three, but instead of bearing away he got on our weather bow. A sail being observed on our weather bow standing towards us, Captain Barry hoisted a signal, which was answered, and thereby Captain Barry knew her to be a French 50 gun ship from the Havana, and he concluded to permit the enemy to come up under the assurance that the French ship would arrive and assist.

"Two of the enemy's ships kept at a distance on our weather quarter as if waiting to ascertain about the French ship, while the other was in our wake with topsails only

and courses hauled, as was also the case with the *Alliance*. The French ship approaching fast, Captain Barry went from gun to gun on the main deck, cautioning against too much haste and not to fire until the enemy was right abreast. He ordered the main topsail hove to the mast that the enemy (who had already fired a Bow gun, the shot of which struck into the cabin of the *Alliance*) might come up as soon as he was abreast, when the action began, and before an half hour her guns were silenced and nothing but musketry was fired from her. She appeared very much injured in her hull. She was of 32 guns and appeared very full of men, and after an action of 45 minutes she sheered off. Our injury was, I think, 3 killed and 11 wounded (three of whom died of their wounds) and our sails and rigging cut.\* During all the action the French lay to as well as the enemy's ships.

"As soon as the ship which we had engaged hove from us, her consorts joined her and all made sail, after which the French ship came down to us, and Captain Barry asked them why they did not come down during the action. They answered that they thought we might have been taken and the signal known and the action only a sham to decoy him. His foolish idea thus perhaps lost us the three frigates, for Captain Barry's commencing the action was with the full expectation of the French ship joining and thereby not only be able to cope, but in fact subdue part, if not the whole, of them. The French Captain proposed, however, giving chase, which was done; but it soon appeared that his ship would not keep up with us, and the chase was given over.

"On the next morning it was proposed that, as the *Lu-zerne* was now unarmed, the public cash should be taken on board the *Alliance*, which was accordingly done, together with Mr. John Brown, Secretary of the Board of Admiralty.

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\* The British lost 37 killed and 50 wounded.



"On the remainder of the passage nothing worth noting occurred, except that we became separated from the *Luzerne*. On the 20th of March we arrived at Newport, and on the 25th arrived at Providence in Rhode Island, when the crew were paid off and discharged."

The *Duc de Lauzun* succeeded in getting into Philadelphia. Off the Capes of the Delaware two British vessels barred the *Alliance's* way to entrance. Captain Barry, on April 19, 1783, from "on board the *Alliance* in Providence Road," wrote to John Brown, saying that "the two decker and a frigate were the second time close on board of us and a little to windward. They gave chase which left an opening for you to get in [the Delaware Bay]. It blew very hard and night coming on we soon lost sight of them. I hove the log myself and she was going fourteen knots with a great deal of ease."\*

Kessler seems, by this, to have erred in relating that Mr. Brown went on board the *Alliance*.

The arrival of the *De Lauzun* is thus recorded in the *Independent Gazette* of March 22, 1783:

"Yesterday arrived here the ship *Duke de Luzan*, Capt. Green, who left the Havana on the 7th inst. in company with the *Alliance*, Capt. Barry, and the Spanish squadron of ten sail of the line, gun boats, &c., destined for Porto Cabaldo in the Caraccas, where M. Vaudreuil had arrived with his squadron and was in hourly expectation of the arrival of the combined fleet from Europe. Advice of their sailing for the place of rendezvous is without doubt the object of this grand armament.

"A few days after the *Alliance* and the *Duke de Luzan* parted from the fleet they fell in with three British frigates,

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\*A MS. note on p. 202 of a copy of Cooper's "Naval History," the property of John Brown Parke, of Carlisle, Pa., nephew of John Brown; transcribed for this history by Rev. H. G. Gauss. The note is from "a letter from Capt. Barry to my uncle John Brown."



two of which they engaged and beat off; the other did not come to action, the *Triton*, a French, 64, and a frigate appearing to windward, the enemy prudently retired." The same paper reported just one week later: "Last Thursday a gentleman arrived from Rhode Island with advice that the *Alliance* frigate, Capt. Barry, was arrived at Newport. She has had two severe actions on her passage from the Havana with frigates of equal force. It is said she has brought a large sum of money on Government account."

Though Mate Kessler does not give the name of the British frigate with which the *Alliance* had the engagement, it is known that it was the *Sybille*, commanded by Captain Vashon. The *Sybille*, a French ship of 38 guns and 350 men, had, on January 22 of this year, been captured, in Lat.  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , by the *Hussar*, 20 guns and 160 men, commanded by Thomas Macnamara Russell, and sent into New York, arriving there on February 8. Captain Russell treated the captain of the *Sybille* somewhat harshly, claiming that he had shown false colors and a flag of distress in order to decoy the *Hussar*, and had then fired upon her. Newspaper controversy concerning this allegation may be found in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of March 1, 1783, and reply thereto in the *Royal Gazette* of New York, March 8. The *Sybille* was added to the British Navy and departed to the southward, where she came in contact with the *Alliance* and Barry "a few days after" March 7, 1783.

In Gouldsborough's *Military and Naval Magazine* (vol. II, p. 185) it is related: "In 1802 an officer attached to Commodore Dale's squadron met with Captain Vashon, of the British Navy, at Gibraltar, and was informed by him that he commanded the English sloop of war [*Sybil*]. Captain Vashon made the most respectful inquiries after Commodore Barry, and stated the facts, as they had been frequently related before by the Commodore himself; and in the most magnanimous terms accorded that gallant officer a full and

generous portion of his approbation, for the masterly manœuvring of the *Alliance* on that occasion.

"Captain Vashon stood high in the British navy as a distinguished seaman, and observed that the commander of the 74, who was then an admiral, spoke often to him on the subject of their pursuit of the frigate *Alliance*; always giving her commander great credit for his conduct.

"Commodore Barry, on this as on all other occasions, evinced his love of justice and spoke of Captain Vashon's conduct, bravery and ability in terms of the highest commendation."

In the *Portfolio* for July 1, 1813, it is stated that Captain Vashon "confessed he had never seen a ship so ably fought as the *Alliance*;" that he had never before "received such a drubbing and that he was indebted to the assistance of his consorts." "The coolness and intrepidity, no less than the skill and fertility in expedients, which Captain Barry displayed on this occasion, are described in naval annals as truly wonderful: every quality of a great naval commander was brought out with extraordinary brilliancy." (*Metropolitan Magazine*, vol. IV, No. 7.)

"It was when hailed on this occasion that Barry answered: "The United States ship *Alliance*, saucy Jack Barry—half Irishman, half Yankee—who are you?" ("Irish Celts, a Cyclopedia of Race History," Detroit, 1884.) No authority for the statement is given.

The story of "the last battle of the Revolution" is thus related in Abbot's "Blue Jackets of '76":

"Once more, before the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States threw her out of commission, did the *Alliance* exchange shots with a hostile man-of-war. It was in 1782 [ought to be March, 1783] when the noble frigate was engaged in bringing specie from the West Indies. She had under convoy a vessel loaded with supplies, and the two had hardly left Havana when some of the enemy's ships caught sight of them and gave chase. While the chase was in progress a 50 gun

ship hove in sight, and was soon made out to be a French frigate. Feeling that he had an ally at hand, Barry now wore ship, and attacked the leading vessel, and a spirited action followed, until the enemy, finding himself hard pressed, signalled for his consorts, and Barry, seeing that the French ship made no sign of coming to his aid, drew off.

"Irritated by the failure of the French frigate to come to his assistance, Barry bore down upon her and hailed. The French captain declared that the manœuvres of the *Alliance* and her antagonist had made him suspect that the engagement was only a trick to draw him into the power of the British fleet. He had feared that the *Alliance* had been captured, and was being used as a decoy; but now that the matter was made clear to him, he would join the *Alliance* in pursuit of the enemy. This he did; but Barry soon found that the fifty was so slow a sailer that the *Alliance* might catch up with the British fleet, and be knocked to pieces by their guns before the Frenchman could get within range. Accordingly he abandoned the chase in disgust, and renewed his homeward course.

"This engagement was the last fought by the *Alliance* during the Revolution, and with it we practically complete our narrative of the work of the regular navy during that war."

William Collins, the Irish-American poet, has also sung of this battle, though again not with absolute historical accuracy.

During the Revolutionary War the British lost 181 vessels, of which number 76 were taken by the Americans. The Americans lost 83 vessels, 53 being captured (Allen's "Battles of the British Navy"). Barry's record for prizes taken places him in the front rank of victors, if it does not in fact give him the first position.

The *Alliance* arrived at Newport, R. I., on March 20, 1783. On March 24 the French ship *Le Triomphe*, commanded by Chevalier du Quesne, arrived at Philadelphia with the preliminary Treaty of Peace. She had been

despatched by D'Estaing from Cadiz on February 11. "Great and joyful was the sensation which spread itself over the city in the course of the day."

On the next day Congress ordered the immediate recall of all vessels cruising under commission from the United States.

The *Alliance* had fought the last battle of the Revolution—the encounter with the *Sybilie*—and had saved the money on the *Duc de Lauzun*. It has been said that this money was the foundation capital of the Bank of North America, Philadelphia. That institution was chartered in 1781. It has no records covering this money.

Thus gloriously did Captain Barry fight the last battle of the War for American Independence. The surrender at Yorktown (October, 1781) virtually closed hostilities on land. Their cessation was arranged, preliminary Articles of Peace were signed, and, finally, on April 19, 1783, Washington announced the close of the war and the disbandment of the army.

Captain Barry returned to Philadelphia by way of New York. The *Sybilie* was there. He visited her and "was politely treated," says Kessler. The vessel yet bore the marks of the injury Captain Barry inflicted on her hull, and "they said they had not been treated so roughly before." "Captain Barry went with the *Alliance* to Virginia, took on board a load of tobacco on public account, and went to Amsterdam and returned to Philadelphia," are the words with which Kessler closes his account.

A memoir in the *Metropolitan Magazine* (Baltimore, August, 1860) says that "After the Peace Barry visited his birthplace." If he did, it was probably while on this trip to Amsterdam. I have found no confirmation of the statement. He brought the *Alliance* to Philadelphia, and this ended his Revolutionary services.

He had commanded the *Lexington*, the first vessel commissioned by authority of the Continental Congress. He closed his endeavors in the contest for Freedom and Inde-



pendence by being commander of the last vessel in Continental commission. He had made the first capture under the Union flag of Washington. Under the Stars and Stripes he fought the last battle of the Revolution.

On April 16, at the Court House, Second and Market streets, Philadelphia, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed to "a vast concourse of people, who expressed their satisfaction on the happy occasion by repeated shouts. The State flag was hoisted on Market street wharf, the bells were rung and a general joy diffused itself throughout the city."

What a contrast at New York, the seat of Royal authority in America for the subjugation of the Colonies:

"When the proclamation was read nothing but groans and hisses prevailed, attended by bitter reproaches and curses on their King for having deserted them in the midst of their calamities."

Philadelphia, the seat of the "Rebellion," was now open to the commerce of the world. On May 2 the ship *Hibernia*, Roger Scallan, master, arrived from Dublin, and soon at the store of Clement Biddle her cargo of "gold and silver, silks, rich and slight Brocades, flowered Mantuas and Fabrics, coloured and sky coloured Tissues and Florentines, tamboured silk and Sattin Shapes for Gentlemen's Vests and black Norwich Capes," were on sale.

The land bounded with the joy of the people. The men of Northampton, having met on May 23, amid festivities and with "toasts" proclaimed their sentiments; the women, not being participants, met the next day and proclaimed with glad acclaim their patriotic sentiments and the hopes with which new won freedom animated them.

"May the Protestant religion prevail and flourish through all nations," was the twelfth toast of the "Ladies of Northampton."

"They wish'd religion might prevail,  
To make it sure drank a *full pail*."

(*Independent Gazette*, May 31 and June 14, 1783.)



## CHAPTER VIII.

JUDGMENT AGAINST BARRY—MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—  
SALE OF THE "ALLIANCE."

The "Journal of Congress" (vol. X, p. 46), under date of February 24, 1785, records that, relative to the memorial of Jedediah Leeds & Co., it was "resolved that the Treasurer of the United States pay to Jedediah Leeds & Co., or their order the amount of 5063 livres, 6 fols. and 11 deniers, Hispaniola currency, upon their giving to Captain Barry a full discharge from the judgment obtained against him by the said Jedediah Leeds & Co. at the Superior Court held at New London in the State of Connecticut, on the 4th Tuesday of September, 1784, and that the President issue his warrant accordingly." Investigation made at New London for this history has brought only the information that the records of the Superior Court are at Norwich. An attorney of the latter place was employed to search the records for details of this suit. The only answer made to me is that the said records are not at Norwich, and, if in existence at all, are at Hartford. No doubt the judgment was obtained for supplies furnished to Captain Barry while the *Alliance* lay off New London in 1782.

From Annapolis on November 16th, 1784, Captain Alex. Murray wrote to Barry that the officers of the navy of Maryland had presented a memorial to be placed on the footing of officers of the land department. "I know not whether I am connected with Maryland or Pennsylvania; but it makes little odds by which I am paid, so I get my due. I have advised with friends. They desire me to write you to know what steps you have taken with your State; what hopes you have of their proceeding in the matter." [Collection of Charles Roberts.]

Captains Barry and Read took up the endeavor for equal justice. The papers of Congress now at the State Department, in Washington, contain the following documents, the

first of which is entitled a Memorial of Navy officers, addressed to "His Excellency Richard H. Lee, President of Congress," and endorsed "No. 152 Letter—Sept. 24, 1785, John Barry, Thomas Read."

"PHILADELPHIA September 24. 1785.

"SIR : We have the honor to enclose to your Excellency Memorial to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Continental Congress.—

"From your early wish to establish a Navy for the United States we are led to hope your Excellency will give us your Interest in forwarding the prayer of our Memorial. We have the honor to be,—

"Sir Your Excellency

"Most Obedient

"Hum<sup>b</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup>

"JOHN BARRY

"THOMAS READ."

"His Excellency  
The President of Congress."

"To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Delegates of the United States in Congress Assembled.—

"The Memorial of Captains John Barry and Thomas Read in behalf of themselves and the other officers of the Continental Navy most respectfully Sheweth—

"That your memorialists have with the utmost fidelity served their Country by Sea since the commencement of the late war and where opportunity presented itself have rendered some services by land also—That they conceive their toils and labors to have been as great as those experienced by their brother officers in the Land Service, and that some of them have received as Honorable wounds in the execution of their Duty ;—wounds which tho' from their nature may not at the present moment claim a pension, yet are sensibly felt and at some future day may

incapacitate the unfortunate persons from earning even a common livelihood.

“Thus circumstanced, your memorialists cannot but feel themselves most sensibly hurt, when they reflect that they are the only Class of Officers in the United States who remain neglected and totally unprovided for.—The multiplicity of important business however, dayly occupying the attention of Congress, no doubt, is the only cause of this neglect, and your memorialists are convinced that your Hon<sup>ble</sup> Body never designed to make any distinction between your Land and Navy Officers, as such a distinction wou’d not only be opposed to justice; but has never heretofore been made by any Nation in the World.—

“It may be urged as an argument against the present memorial that the Navy Officers having had it in their power to take prizes had therefore a greater opportunity of making money than their Brother Officers in the Land Service, yet when your Hon<sup>ble</sup> Body will consider that your memorialists have had not only their own Officers but Prisoners and many others to entertain and that too out of the trifling pittance of five Dollars and one-third of a Dollar per week when in port and only half that sum at sea, and even that sum paid in depreciated money sometimes at the rate of seventy-five for one—and that in general they have been subject to more expenses than the Officers in the Land Service, they are led to hope, that such an argument will have no weight against them—To this your memorialists beg leave to add, that few of the Ships belonging to the United States were ever suffered to cruise, but were sent on private service and ordered not to go out of their way but to keep clear of all Vessels whatever, and that such as were permitted had particular Cruising Grounds pointed out to them which frequently ensured them severe blows and but few prizes.—

“Your memorialists therefore humbly pray that they may be placed on a footing similar to that of their Brother Officers in the Land Service as to Half-pay or Commuta-

tion and Lands according to their Ranks respectively and your memorialists as in Duty bound will ever pray, &c.

[Endorsed]} "No. 53

"Mem Capt. J. Barry

"Th. Read

"JOHN BARRY

"Read 28 Sept 1785

"Referred to

"THOMAS READ "

"Mr. King

"Mr. Pettit

"Mr. Kean "

After the return of the *Alliance* from Amsterdam, Congress, on June 3, 1785, by the following resolution ordered the sale of this last ship of the Confederacy :

"*Resolved*: That the Board of Treasury be and hereby are authorized and directed to sell for specie or public securities at public or private sale, the frigate *Alliance* with her tackle and appurtenances (excepting her guns and other appointments which the Secretary at War is hereby directed to receive into his custody), the Board of Treasury giving previous notice of the sale in the newspapers of such States as they may judge proper."

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 22d and later dates contains the following advertisement :

" Board of Treasury, New York, June 13, 1785.

## SALE OF THE ALLIANCE.

On the first Tuesday of August next

WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION AT THE MERCHANTS' COFFEE HOUSE IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

## THE FRIGATE ALLIANCE

now lying in the river Delaware with all her Tackle and appurtenances (excepting her warlike appurtenances).

A description of the ship and inventory of her tackle and appurtenances will be published on the day of sale.

The payment for the convenience of the purchaser may be made in good negotiable paper payable in four equal monthly installments.

N. B. The sale will commence at twelve o'clock precisely."

Preparatory to the announced sale, the following order was issued on July 9th :

"SIR: You will please to deliver the military appointments of the ship *Alliance* to the bearer agreeable to the order of Captain Barry.

"Yours,

"JAMES HOGDON,

"Com. Mil. Stores."

"Captain Coburn or Person  
in charge of the  
Continental Ship  
*Alliance*."

The ship was sold in pursuance of this announcement, and the itemized statement of accounts in connection with the transaction, now in possession of Col. Kessler, of Butte, Montana, bears this endorsement :

"By these papers it appears that the Frigate *Alliance* was sold by the United States in 1785, that John Coburn and Whitehead were the purchasers at the sum of £2887, say \$7700, that they paid the U. S. in certificates of the public debt, which they purchased at about 2 shillings and three pence in the pound, and that they afterward sold the Frigate at a great profit to Robert Morris."

Captain James Nicholson on November 6th, 1786, wrote from New York to Barry that he was disappointed in getting the diploma of the Cincinnati Society in this place for Captain Step. Gregory. He requested Barry to make application at Philadelphia. [Collection, Chas. Roberts.]

The further career of this noble vessel, the chief ship of the Colonies in their battle for Independence, is herewith given from the *Freeman's Journal*, of Philadelphia, for September 24th, 1788 :

"Captain Thomas Read in the ship *Alliance* bound to China sailed from Philadelphia in June, 1787, and arrived at Canton 22d of December in the same year, having



navigated on a route as yet unpractised by any other ship. Taking soundings of the Cape of Good Hope, he steered to the south-east, encircling all the eastern and south-eastern islands of the Indian Ocean, passing the south cape of New Holland; and on the passage northward again towards Canton between latitude 7 and 4 degrees south and between longitude 156 and 162 east they discovered a number of islands the inhabitants of which were black with curled or woolly hair. Among these islands they had no sounding. About latitude 8 north and longitude 160 east they discovered two other islands inhabited by a brown people with straight black hair. These islands appear to be very fertile and much cultivated, and by the behavior of the inhabitants the ship's company were induced to believe they were the first discoverers. One of them was named the Morris Island, the other the Alliance. They did not land on any of them. These discoveries were made in November.

"The officers of the European ships in China were astonished to find a vessel arriving at that season of the year and with eagerness and pleasure examined the track of the voyage. They finished their voyage by arriving again at Philadelphia on September 17th, 1788, having returned by the usual route of the European ships until they were in the Atlantic Ocean."

On April 20th, 1789, Washington, on his way to New York to be inaugurated first President of the United States, arrived at Philadelphia. In reporting the reception accorded to Washington the *Pennsylvania Gazette* related: "The ship *Alliance* and a Spanish merchant ship were handsomely decorated with the colors of different nations."

The *Alliance* was of 724 tons—a large ship for those days. "After all her wonderful escapes from the enemy and long perilous voyages, she at length died a natural death and laid her bones on Petty's Island," in the Delaware, opposite Port Richmond. At low tide even now her

remains are visible, and portions may be removed. I am indebted to Talcott Williams, Esq., for a part of the timbers of the old vessel, which were taken up three years ago. They may be seen in The American Catholic Historical Society's cabinet. "One might also believe that the good old ship had tried to lay her timbers as near as she could to the gallant sailor who had done such deeds of glory on her deck," says W. Seton in *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*.

## CHAPTER IX.

BARRY'S SPIRITED ACTION AGAINST THE OPPONENTS OF  
THE CONSTITUTION—HE GOES TO CHINA—RETURNS  
—REPORT TO WASHINGTON—BARRY AT HOME.

Captain Barry's sea services seem to have been suspended after his return from Amsterdam, and not to have been resumed until January, 1788, when he started on a voyage to China. In the meanwhile we find him engaged in a bold endeavor to secure the ratification of the Constitution formulated by the Federal Convention, which closed its deliberations on September 17, 1787. We will now see him still resolute, active and, perhaps, too zealous in securing "the more perfect union" of the States whose independence he had been so helpful in achieving.

The Confederation had proven unsuited to the needs of the country. By successive steps there came on the Convention of May 25, 1787, to reconsider the Articles of Confederation and to adopt a new plan of government, if necessary. It met and did its work, closing its sessions on September 17th following. That day the Pennsylvania members of the body notified the Assembly of their State that they were ready "to report at such time and place as they [the Assembly] may direct." Next morning "the honorable delegates representing this State in

the late Federal Convention," led by Benjamin Franklin, "were ushered into the hall of the Assembly, made their report and presented the Constitution" just formulated by the Convention. No action was taken until September 29th, the last day but one of the session, when George Clymer proposed to refer the act to a Convention of the State. Pleas for delay were made. Thomas FitzSimons, a Catholic, one of the representatives at the Federal Convention and a member of the Assembly besides, opposed delay. After further debate it was resolved to call a State convention, but the day was not set. Nineteen had voted against calling a convention, when Robert Whitehall, on behalf of the minority, asked for postponement of the question as to fixing the time for the convention until the afternoon, and this was granted. When the House met, the nineteen were absent, and a quorum was lacking. They were found, but refused to appear. Then Mr. Wynkop said: "If there is no way of compelling those who deserted from duty to perform it, then God be merciful to us." There was a way of "compelling," and Captain John Barry led the compellers.

"The next morning a number of citizens, whose leader is said to have been Commodore John Barry, forcibly entered the lodgings of James McCalmont, a member from Franklin County, and Jacob Miley, a member from Dauphin County, who were among the seceders, dragged them to the State House and thrust them into the chamber, where the Assembly was in session without a quorum."

There were then 46 members present.

Mr. McCalmont informed "the House that he had been forcibly brought into the Assembly room contrary to his wishes by a number of citizens whom he did not know, and begged he might be dismissed." Mr. FitzSimons said that if any member of the House had forced the gentleman from the determination of absenting himself, of course such member's conduct met the disapprobation of the House. "But Mr. McCalmont is now here, and the

business of the State cannot be accomplished if any one is suffered to withdraw."

So the minutes of the Assembly read: "Mr. McCalmont and Mr. Miley appeared in the Assembly Chamber, and, there being a quorum, the House resumed the consideration of the matter postponed yesterday."

The date of the Convention was fixed—the people cheered, Christ Church bells rang, and Capt. Barry, no doubt, was happy. For within 23 hours after the Constitutional Convention had adjourned the Assembly of Pennsylvania had called a Convention to act on it—thanks to the warm zeal of Captain Barry.

The *Pittsburgh Gazette*, of November 3d, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (of Philadelphia), November 19, 1787, had verses entitled: "On the Running Away of the Nineteen members of the Assembly." They said:

"It seems to me I yet see Barry  
Drag out Mac Calmont. (By the Lord Harry  
The wight was right; and also Miley  
Was taken from an outhouse slily  
To constitute with him a quorum)  
For it seems he was *unus horum*."

Though Mr. McCalmont attempted to leave the Assembly, he was restrained by citizens. As Captain Barry had "dragged" him to the place, it is likely he remained to see the result of his course, and so to have been chief among those preventing McCalmont's exit.

But Mr. McCalmont was not done with the "dragging." On October 13, 1787, he presented a memorial to the Supreme Executive Council, and "several depositions in support thereof."

The Council "resolved that the Attorney-General be directed forthwith to commence a prosecution against Captain John Barry, and such other persons as shall be found to have been principally active in seizing the said James McCalmont or otherwise concerned in the riotous proceedings as set forth in the said memorial, and that the



said memorial and depositions or copies thereof be transmitted with this resolution to the Attorney-General."

The yeas and nays were called on this resolution. The *Yeas* were Benjamin Franklin (President), Charles Biddle (Vice-President), Messrs. McLene, Redick, Hoge, Smilie, Whitehill, Baird. The *Nays* were Messrs. Hill, Dean and Muhlenberg. So the resolution was adopted.

The Attorney-General began suit. In the meantime the Convention to act on the Constitution had met and deliberated from November 21st to December 12th, when the Federal Constitution was ratified by a vote of 46 to 23.

This may have made it necessary for the Attorney-General to have advice. There evidently was a disposition to let the suit be "dropped." Accordingly, at the meeting of the Supreme Executive Council, on February 16th, 1788, "the Attorney-General requested the advice of the Council, relative to the suit now carrying on by their order against Captain John Barry. The Council resolved that the Attorney-General be informed that Council do not wish to interfere, but that they leave the matter entirely with him to do as he shall judge best."

Nothing further appears relating to the prosecution of the case. Captain Barry had, by the time of the Council meeting, gone "beyond seas" to far-off Cathay.

On January 7, 1788, the *Asia*, commanded by him, sailed for China, in company with the *Canton*, commanded by Captain Truxton. The *Asia*, returned to Philadelphia on June 4, 1789. The *Canton* arrived home the next day.

The following correspondence with Captain Barry, while at Canton, is from the autograph collection of Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia :

"SHIP *Asia* August 28th 1788

"DEAR SIR :

"We have brought all the Casks out of the hole and stowed them in the 'tween Decks, as far as the Bulkhead of the



Steerage, there yet remains all the Gensing and Provisions, unstow'd in the hole. In Breaking out the Liquors found one Puncheon of Rum Mark'd Stores and 5 Kegs Cargo intirely out a number of others that sounded hollow which took 5 Kegs more to fill them up which makes 10 Kegs in all that is out; all the other Liquors in good order; I am in hopes the Tanks will be finished to-night if so shall begin to land early to morrow,

“ from

“ Dear Sir

“ Your Humble Servant

“ JAMES JOSIAH.”

“ P. S. Have sent 3½ dozen Beer in the boat.

“ [Endorsed] John Barry Esq

“ Canton.”

September 25, 1788, from the ship *Asia*, James Josiah wrote to Barry, then on shore in Canton, reporting the freight on board and stating “ the sick are something better than when you left us, but no one able to do duty. Mr. Gash I discharged and paid \$30 to.”

The Philadelphia papers thus reported the arrival of the *Asia* and the *Canton* from China :

The *Independent Gazette*, June 5, 1789, said: “ Yesterday arrived in our river the ship *Asia*, Captain John Barry, of this port, from Canton in China and brings very pleasing and agreeable accounts from all the American vessels in that distant quarter of the globe. He sailed in company, on January 7th last, with the ship *Canton*, Captain Truxton, and parted with her two days after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, so that she may be momentarily expected.” The *Pennsylvania Mercury and Universal Advertiser* of June 6th said: “ Thursday last arrived here the ship *Asia*, Captain John Barry, in four months and twenty days from Canton, in China. With her departed the ships *Canton*, Capt. Truxton, and *Jenny*, Capt. Thompson. The *Washington*, of Providence, R.

I., was to follow in a few days. The *Eleanor* was then fitting for a further voyage. Captain Barry, we learn, parted with the *Canton* and *Jenny* off the Cape of Good Hope. All well the 23d March." *The Freeman's Journal*, June 10, 1789, said: "The ship *Asia*, Capt. Barry, and the ship *Canton*, Capt. Truxton, sailed from Canton, China, on the same day, and, what is extraordinary, after a voyage of four months and twenty days they arrived here on Friday last. With them departed the ship *Jenny*, Capt. Thompson. The *Washington* of Providence, R. I., was to follow in a few days. The *Eleanor* was there fitting for a farther voyage." The *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 6th, said: "Yesterday arrived here from Canton in China the ship *Canton*, Capt. Truxton. She took her departure from the East Indies in company with the *Asia*, Capt. Barry, who arrived here on Thursday." The *New York Daily Advertiser*, June 8th, said: "The *Asia*, Barry, from Canton, arrived at Philadelphia in four months and twenty days from Canton. The *Washington*, of Providence, was to sail from Canton a few days after the *Asia*. The *Eleonora* of this port was fitting for a country voyage. The *Canton*, Truxton, is arrived at Philadelphia."

On his arrival Captain Barry wrote to President Washington, sending a list of ships at Canton when he left there. On July 6, 1789, Washington replied, acknowledging the list and thanking Barry "for this polite mark of his attention." [Washington Papers, vol. X.]

Senator Maclay, in his "Journal," thus makes record: "June 8. Heard on coming to my lodgings of the arrival of two Indiamen under the command of Barry and Truxton who report all the rest to be on their way. And now, perhaps, we shall get the Impost and Collection Bills passed." "A letter from a gentlemen in New York to his friend in Philadelphia" written that day said: "The impost bill still hangs in the Senate, where many of the proposed duties are much reduced and the impolitic system of discrimination between States in alliance, or otherwise,

done away." The same "Journal" has these subsequent entries mentioning Captain Barry : March 26, 1790 : "A petition read from Captain Barry and others for commutation." This related to a settlement of their Revolutionary pay. May 10, 1790 : "This was a day of company at our mess. The strangers were Captain Barry, Col. Moylan, Mr. Tench Coxe, now succeeding to the assistancy of the Treasury."

This year, 1790, Captain Barry was elected a member of the "Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland." He was also enrolled in "The Cincinnati."

The next record shows Captain Barry writing to Mathew Carey :

"STRAWBERRY HILL, Oct 20th, 1793 :

"DEAR SIR :

"From an advertisement in Brown's paper of the 18th inst. I have taken the Liberty to acquaint you that there is a young Gentleman a friend of mine who has lived with me these three months. He is lately from Ireland and wishes to be employed as a Clark. I can recommend him for his integrity and sobriety. If you have not already engaged one, you will oblige me by letting me know the place and terms.

"I hope you and Family have kept clear of the disorder prevailing in town and I pray God you may continue so.

"Mrs Barry's compliments to Mrs Carey and believe me

"Dear Sir

"Your Obedient

"Humble Servant

"Mr. Mathew Carey"

"JOHN BARRY."

[From collection of F. Dreer, Esq.]

The advertisement called for "a person who writes a legible and correct hand and who has been accustomed to give regular attendance."

"The disorder prevailing" was the yellow fever. From August 1st to November 9th, 4,041 victims of it were buried. Of the number, 335 were Catholics. Fathers Fleming and Graessl were of the number.

Strawberry Hill, Captain Barry's summer residence, was on Gunner's Run, above Rose Hill, in the neighborhood of Frankford, opposite Peter Keen's plantation on Poor Island.

"The young gentleman, a friend of mine," for whom Captain Barry sought the clerkship, I doubt not, was one of his nephews, Michael or John Hayes—possibly John, as "he lived with" Barry, who in a draft of his will a year later provided for John's "support, education and maintenance."

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CHURCH IN  
AMERICA.

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FROM THE PORTFOLIOS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE AT ROME.

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*Collected by the Archivist of the Society.*

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## FIRST SERIES.

Under this heading will be published in the RECORDS of the Society an interesting series of letters dealing with personages and events connected with the history of Catholicity in America. As this issue of the RECORDS contains a portion of the first gleanings of Americana by our archivist in Rome, something may be said here, by way of preface, concerning this new and important venture of the Society.

The Holy Father has given a stimulus to so much Catholic enterprise—with a wisdom so far-seeing as to be almost prophetic, with a power so far-reaching as to be almost creative, and with a versatility and rapidity so astonishing as almost to bewilder even a progressive age like ours—that it is difficult, even were it desirable, to indicate the field in which his efforts have already produced the most abundant fruit, together with a promise of still greater yield in coming years. It shall not be claimed in this connection that the zeal for historical truth, which impelled him to throw open to scholars the vast mine of slightly explored wealth in the Vatican Archives, is the most significant feature of his activity; but it may be said with truth that to the student of history that zeal opens out immense possibilities in the line of a thorough reconstruction of history as it has been written. The



labors of Janssen have pointed the way to that reconstruction, and have, in a large measure, attained it. That which De Maistre defined "a conspiracy against the truth," is giving place to an earnest effort to really understand and express the truth; so that the reproach of Walpole may soon cease to apply—"Talk not to me of history, for that I know to be false." Once more we may hope to estimate men and things as they really were, and not as the distorting brush of unfriendly or over-friendly hands have painted them, and the accumulated dust of centuried ignorance, prejudice and malice have made them appear to us. Truth should not be shamed; for if it shows us the saint clothed at times with a human weakness that seems almost amiable, it also removes sometimes from the sinner many a rag of traditional abuse. Even an Alexander VI, sad enough as is his true portrait, appears to us now in less revolting guise than the figure paraded in non-partisan encyclopedias. It is only the darkness of history that renders hobgoblins possible; the daylight reveals humans.

It is unnecessary to speak of the immediate and enthusiastic use made of the Vatican Archives by scholars representing all shades of religious and political opinions. Suffice it to say, that the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY felt the enthusiasm and saw the possibilities opened out to students of Catholic history in America. What has been said of the Civil War may be said with truth—though for a different reason—of Catholicity in America, namely, that its history remains to be written. And this without disparagement of the splendid efforts recently made in both spheres of historical research. Carlyle stated acutely the truth when he wrote: "History is the essence of innumerable biographies." As water rises no higher than its source, so events on which the side-lights of innumerable facts do not shine clearly to illustrate vexing questions of origin, motive and continuity, shall not be accurately exhibited even by eminent and fair-minded historians.

If the narrative seem perspicuous, it is because inference has been stated as fact, surmise as motive, and preconceived theory as the logical nexus constituting that which has been called the "Philosophy of History."

I do not think that our Society aspires just at present to the ambitious task of writing history, so much as to the humbler task of rendering that ambition possible in the future. It assumes the character of those industrious persons who, as Bacon tells us in his *Advancement of Learning*, "by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

Dates and facts serve the just purposes of the present-day historian better than a facile and picturesque rhetoric. All of Rome is a vast storehouse of these significant helps to historical accuracy. It is the centre of life for the Catholic body; and just as all the stimulus of activity goes forth from that great nerve-centre of the intellectual world to the remotest member, so, also, there flows back to that centre the intelligence of the results of its stimulus. Our Society has recognized for a long time the impossibility of writing the history of the Church in America unless equipped with such records as only an archivist, resident in Rome, and familiar with the needs of our Society, with the *lacunae* to be filled, with the depositories whence these might be supplied, and with the proper mode of gaining access to these depositories, could furnish to us. But the financial outlay requisite for such an enterprise embarrassed the efforts of the Society, until some generous members assumed the whole financial responsibility. While the Vatican Archives will ultimately afford a rich field for investigation, it is clear from manuscripts copied and forwarded thus far to the Society—only a small installment of which is here printed

—that the most immediately desirable data are to be had by an inspection of portfolios like those in the Irish College, and of the accurately kept records of the Propaganda. It is significant of the benign interest felt by the Holy Father in our work, that he has accorded to us an *entrée* to the records of the Propaganda—a privilege which, in its freedom and extent, is, we believe, without parallel.

In the RECORDS published by the Society, will be presented much of these variously acquired data. On the question of the character and extent of editorial supervision necessary for their presentation in print, it is very clear to the writer that there will be *tot sententiae quot capita*. As the opportunity for adverse criticism thus presented is inherent in the task undertaken, and is, therefore, inevitable, such criticism must be faced with whatever courage is possible. The slight biographical information appended here, while to many it may appear superfluous, may seem to others desirable, as tending to clearness.

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The Rt. Rev. Michael O'Connor, D. D., was born in Cork, in 1810. He entered the Propaganda at the age of fourteen; was ordained in 1833; and was appointed Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome. A year later he took his degrees in divinity; returned to Ireland; was first a curate at Fermoy, and afterwards Chaplain to the Nuns in Doneraile. At the request of Bishop Kenrick, he came to Philadelphia to take charge of the Seminary. On his nomination to the See of Pittsburg, in 1843, he hastened to Rome to seek release from the honor and to fulfill a long-cherished desire of becoming a Jesuit. His request was not granted by Gregory XVI, but seventeen years afterwards he entered the Society of Jesus, and died, at Woodstock, in 1872.

The Rt. Rev. Edward Barron, D. D., was born in Ireland in 1801. He studied at Propaganda; returned to Ireland,

where he remained a few years; and then came to Philadelphia, filling successively the offices of pastor of St. Mary's Church, and president of the Seminary. "In 1840, when the Holy See petitioned the Bishops of New York and Philadelphia for missionaries to go to Liberia and labor for the conversion of the Africans, he and Rev. John Kelly of New York volunteered their services." Three years after, he was created Bishop. "Shortly afterwards the Holy See determined to confide the two Guineas to the Society of Father Liebermann, expressly organized and trained for the conversion of the colored race, and Bishop Barron, prostrated by the climate and impaired in health, returned to the United States in 1845. Preferring the work of a missionary priest to the duties and responsibilities of the episcopal office, he labored for the good of souls in Philadelphia, St. Louis and Florida, in each of which he left memorials of his zeal and labors, and died a martyr's death, whilst the yellow fever was raging in Savannah, on September 12, 1854." (*Hist. Sketch of the Philadelphia Seminary.*)

Of Cardinal Cullen and Mons. Kirby, to whom most of these letters are addressed, as well as of the two Kenricks, it is needless to speak. *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* contained recently an interesting account of Mons. Kirby.

H. T. HENRY.

*Overbrook, Pa , Sept. 23, 1896.*

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(Page 15.\*) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"REVD. AND VERY DEAR FRIEND:—I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Mr. Atherton, a

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\* The page indicated at the head of each of the following copies refers to the page in the portfolio of American Papers in the archives of the Irish College, Rome, where the original is to be found.

highly respectable member of the Philadelphia Bar. His integrity and honor have gained him the esteem of his fellow citizens, and will no doubt procure for him the regard of all who shall make his acquaintance. Any attention which you may have it in your power to render him during his stay in the Eternal City will be regarded as a special favor by

“Your affectionate friend,

“† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp &c.”

“Philadelphia, June 20 1832.”

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(Page 16.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

“REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I at length avail myself of the kindness of the S. Congregation made known to me by your letter, and send to the Urban College two youths, Joseph J. Balfe and Daniel F. Devitt, natives of this city. They are in excellent health, and otherwise well qualified for the ecclesiastical state, as far as I can judge. You will no doubt render them every service in your power.

“The Books, Vestments &c. have never arrived. But I should not complain, if you would come and form my Diocesan Seminary. I have three young Irishmen studying Philosophy in my own house, and I hope to open a Seminary distinct from my residence after some time. A man of your character would realize all that I desire.

“All things go on here admirably well, as you may learn from these youths. Could you not let me know occasionally your Roman news? Tell me what you think of my Theology, and whether it can be so improved as to prove worthy of being printed. If not, I shall not regret its being consigned to oblivion. Continue to pray for

“Your affectionate friend in Christ,

“† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp &c.”

“Philadelphia, Sept. 7, 1832.”



(Page 18.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I feel grateful for your attention to my Theology, and hope that I shall before long have it, if not in print, at least in manuscript, with the judgment of some able Theologians on its merits and defects. We want some work which might be a repertory of authorities and arguments in support of the doctrines of faith, unencumbered by the Scholastic disputes. A solid and concise work of this character with a correct system of Moral Theology, would be of great value in this country. At present we experience no small difficulty in providing the students with Class-books, and still greater difficulty in furnishing the missionaries with Theological works which they might consult in a variety of contingencies. However, I am not vain enough to think that my effort will please all, nor am I anxious that my Theological compilation be adopted.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I scarcely like to trouble the Sacred Congregation with complaints. I am decidedly of opinion that triennial Councils, conducted according to the spirit of the Church, would eminently contribute to give us all the benefits of combined counsel and exertion, would establish order in the various diocesses, would correct the discrepancies of rite, would strengthen legitimate authority and take away the occasion of schism; would in a word, effectually advance the interests of religion. But if Councils are not held, I shall not on that account be unhappy. I shall attend to the diocess entrusted to my care, and leave to Rome and the Archbishop the concerns of the province.

"I might be wanting in duty did I withhold the expression of a sentiment that may appear paradoxical, which is nevertheless true,—that the greatest evils with which this country has been afflicted are attributable to good men. The scandals of Hogan and other unworthy priests, the pretensions and usurpations of schismatical

laymen, could never have been formidable, had not the system pursued by good men, who have had the reins of government in their hands, left Religion defenceless, a prey to the assaults made by wicked men. These good men with the best intentions have procured the elevation of men of virtue, but destitute of several necessary qualifications. The first cities of the East have had Prelates whose imperfect knowledge of the language of the country must make their instructions matter of ridicule rather than of edification. The West is likely to be similarly circumstanced, if the Bishop of Vincennes be selected according to the wishes of the assembled Prelates, who in this instance yielded too much to their veneration for the individual.

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"The Mission of Bp. England to Hayti has not been successful; but he hopes that an opening is made for improvement in the condition of that island, now overrun with scandals. He spent last Sunday here on his return to Charleston, and means to repair to the eternal city in a short time. I do not anticipate that he will ever return to this country, as he is perfectly disgusted at the treatment he received at the last Council. His loss will be great; though it might not be desirable that he should remain here at variance with the Archbishop, or at least entirely differing from him in his views of Church government. Besides, Charleston diocess is not a fit theatre for a man of his splendid talents. He would shine with great lustre in some of the eastern cities, and I would at any moment resign my mitre to make place for him. This I authorize you to communicate to the Sacred Congn. I care not where my lot is cast, though I am perfectly happy here, since all things prosper. Pray for us all and believe me

"Very affectionately,

"Your friend in Christ,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. March 20, 1834."

(Page 19.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I was highly gratified by your favor of the 1st Febr. which communicated so much interesting information in regard to our American affairs. The return of Devitt is afflicting, but the kindness of the S. Congn. in consenting to receive two others, (as Revd Mr. Lancaster states in his letter to Revd W. Whelan,) consoles me by affording the hope that this diocess will yet enjoy the services of some youths educated in the eternal city. I send two amiable and pious youths whom I specially commend to you kind attention.

"Revd W. Whelan has volunteered to accompany them. He wishes some relaxation from the labors of his Mission, and feels disposed to increase his store of knowledge and light the torch of zeal where the learned need not blush to be disciples, and the zealous may conceive increased ardor. I need not say anything in his commendation. The integrity of his life, his candor, cordiality, attachment to the cause of Religion and many other fine qualities easily interest his acquaintances; but I will leave you to know him by experience. The openness of his character will make you in a short time fully acquainted with him. Any facility you can afford him for pursuing his researches or otherwise improving himself, will be regarded as a favor by

"Your devoted Friend,

"†FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. April 7, 1834."

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(Page 20.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I beg to introduce to your acquaintance the lady of Commodore Hall, and her sister Miss Augusta Hart, who visit Italy in company with the Commodore. I have not the pleasure of personal

acquaintance with the ladies, but I am acquainted with one of their sisters who is an edifying member of the Church. At her request I solicit your attention for these highly respectable ladies, who through you may become acquainted with much that may interest and edify them.

"I am with great respect and attachment,

"Yours devotedly in Christ,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phila. Oct. 4, 1835."

(Page 21.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty of presenting to you the bearer, Revd Charles I. Carter, a native of Kentucky and convert to the Catholic faith, whom I ordained above 4 years ago. He is the same individual for whom I obtained a place in the Urban College about ten years ago, but who could not obtain permission to leave Kentucky at that time. His health being rather delicate, I have allowed him to travel on the continent of Europe, and beg to recommend him to your kind attention during his stay in the eternal city. His sincere piety will, I am confident, ensure him your esteem, as it has won him the affection of

"Your devoted Friend in Christ,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. Jan. 31, 1837."

(Page 22.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I make bold to trespass on your kindness to obtain from the Holy See a dispensation in primo gradu affinitatis. The petition sketched on the last page of this letter may be copied and presented, and the rescript forwarded as soon as possible. I should

not trouble you with this affair had I not written very recently to the S. Congn.

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"I have not been able to find in the country, priests of that exalted merit which is desirable in Prelates, except such as are absolutely required elsewhere; and I have been led to propose three others who have everything to recommend them save the experience of our mission:— Revd P. J. Carew, Prof. Theol. in Maynooth; Revd Wm. Meagher, of the Metropolitan Church, Dublin, educated nella casa di Monte Citorio; and Revd P. Byrne, of Carlow. There is little likelihood of this nomination being sustained by the Council, as the Baltimore tribunal is totally averse to Irish clergymen thus imported, and the last experiment has not tended to weaken this prejudice. Dr. England in his Conventional Address makes reference to the Sulpician ascendancy in terms that cannot conciliate them. He also eulogizes his Constitution, which no other Bishop admires, for though it checks the Trustees it organizes a System which under every form is highly objectionable. He refers to his proposal to the last Council to seek a supply of Irish missionaries and its rejection by the Prelates, followed by his application to the Holy Father.

"I regretted these remarks as not tending to public edification, and thwarting my views for his settlement in another diocess, I had proposed him for the administration of New York which most sadly needs an efficient Prelate, and in consequence of the entire unwillingness of Bp. Dubois I had offered my place in case I should be forced to put on the thorny crown of that diocess. The Archbishop had signified assent, provided the Constitution would be left behind; but now that hope vanishes. I know not what may be done to sustain the truly pious, but not over-sagacious Prelate, as Dr. P——, the favorite of Dr. England, is not, in my opinion, or that of most of the Bishops, qualified in all respects for the high office.



Revd W. Meagher is the one whom I would judge most suitable ; but my colleagues will not be easily induced to form the same judgment. I am convinced that the interests of Religion require that I should remain in Philadelphia, and that a Bishop should be speedily appointed for Pittsburg. Dr. Résé left this for Pittsburg yesterday on his way to Detroit. He means to make another effort to settle that most unfortunate affair.

“ Your affectionate Friend,

“ † FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c.”

“ Phil. Febr. 14, 1837.”

(Page 23.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

“ VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR :—You have doubtless learned from other sources the results of the late Provincial Council. The improved state of feeling which was produced by the courtesy and prudence of the Archbishop, must prove highly gratifying to the Holy See. Dr. England experienced no rudeness, though his measures were not always palatable to his colleagues. I had the misfortune to dissent from him in regard to Dr. P——, who does not appear to me eligible to the Episcopacy. I dissented from most of my colleagues in regard to the privileges of Procurator, and earnestly urged, as did also the pious Bishop of Vincennes, that the Very Revd Fr. Varela, procurator of the good Bishop of New York, should be allowed to sign the decrees. He appeared to me also admissible to the private sessions. Sed Diis aliter visum.

“ Dr. Clancy expressed his desire to be translated, but most of the Prelates thought it unadvisable to interfere in a matter which Dr. England had transacted without their participation. I declined sustaining his nomination, or that of Dr. Power, for Pittsburg, and my own nomina-

tions were set aside. Revd J. Hughes would have been nominated for that See, but for the critical situation of New York. I waived all objections, seeing that my colleagues were of opinion that he should be elevated to the Episcopacy, nor did I advert at all in Council to the tone of his letter. His relation to the Church of St. John was the only point which I brought forward, without urging it ; though I feel that he should not be withdrawn from a Church actually burdened with \$40.000 debt. The mortgages amount to 35.000 dollars.

“ Poor Dr. R. writes me that he sets out for Rome. An Administrator should be appointed without delay, and Revd Mr. Odin is the only one on the list eligible. I hope the Congregazione della Missione will not place any obstacle to his appointment. I consented to let my brother's name be placed third, for form's sake, and in the confidence that the first or the second, who is a most pious man, would be appointed. Should you perceive any disposition to appoint the third, I beg of you to use all your influence to prevent it. He is my right hand. Revd Mr. Lorras may do good at Dubuque. I am glad that something should be done for Nashville, though I could not approve the nomination of Revd Fr. Miles, had not Bp. Chabrat given me strong assurance of his piety. The Holy See may hesitate to approve of Father Vandevelde, a Jesuit, for the intended See of Natchez. I am unwilling to change the characteristic features of a Religious Institute, and therefore reluctantly assented. The second, Revd Thos. Heyden, would have been proposed by me for Pittsburg if I had sufficient confidence in his decision of character. He possesses respectable talents and a good share of information, and bears an unblemished character, but sometimes seems to vacillate and is said to want a power of government. His resistance in a particular instance to my authority, and his sullen, insulting letters on the occasion, are long since forgiven him, and he is now placed in the second most important station in

the diocess. I could not however urge his promotion to Episcopacy. Revd W. Whelan is now his assistant in the pastoral charge. I need not tell you "*naturam licet expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*"

"My efforts for the erection of the See at Pittsburg proved ineffectual, the prelates not choosing to adopt into the hierarchy an ecclesiastic inexperienced in the country. I felt the justice of their objection and did not venture to urge my point, as the case of Dr. Clancy strengthened the opposition. An opportunity may soon arise of making a new nomination and the See may be at length erected. For the present I am endeavoring to provide for the wants of this large diocess by ordaining five Priests on Thursday next. I have just received a letter from Dr. Barron expressing his willingness to follow his first intentions, and I hope to see him here soon after my return from my visitation, which commences the 1st June, not to end before September.

"If Rev. C. Carter has reached Rome, I recommend him to your kind attention. I have received a plain mitre, which he bought for me in Paris, and I am in hopes of soon receiving the Crosier and some other articles which by some mishap are still on their way. The money I must remit by the first opportunity, but our pecuniary concerns are at present in a most deranged state; all the banks having suspended specie payments. Beg of him to receive this notice with my well wishes in lieu of a formal letter.

"Rev. W. Whelan mentioned to me that Revd Fr. Winters, prior of St. Clement, is anxious to devote himself to the missions of this diocess. I shall be happy to receive him, if you deem him a suitable subject. I have not now the means of furnishing his expenses.

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"The last letter received by his Eminence was numbered 31, the preceeding, 29. No 30 has not yet come to hand. May I beg of you to procure me a copy of it?

"Poor Dr. Hurley is no more. After 4 days illness occasioned, it is thought, by some slight exposure to the cool air of the evening, he departed with sentiments of faith, submission and sorrow, as those who were present relate. I had not seen him for a considerable time. Revd N. O'Donnell has been fortunate enough to engage Revd John O'Reilly, late of Pittsburg, to stay and embrace the Augustinian Institute. He is a clergyman of great integrity and likely to do great good. Some part of my manuscript has remained behind which, if you find, you may send by a favorable opportunity. I hope you have obtained the dispensation which I requested you to seek in my letter of 6th (14th) February. It has not yet reached me.

"Believe me, dear and Very Revd Sir,

"Your devoted Friend in Christ,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. May 22, 1837."

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(Page 24.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR:—Your favor of 24th July which reached here nearly 4 weeks ago, gave us the intelligence of the four nominations, but the Bulls are still expected. The loss of two of the most distinguished priests of the diocess will be serious, but I am ready to make any sacrifice for the general advantage. Forty thousand dollars debt on St. John's renders the departure of its pastor a most perilous experiment; and the new diocess of Natchez is rather too great a field for the energy of the actual pastor of St. Paul's. You have already my views in regard to Pittsburg.

"Revd Mr. Carter has arrived and is engaged with my brother in the Cathedral. He has brought us many valuable presents for the Mission. Those which he obtained from Propaganda have not yet arrived, so that I cannot yet send a formal acknowledgement. I commission



you to express my warmest gratitude to Monsignore Mai, or his Eminence, or any other benefactor. I feel how much I owe you for your kind attention to Revd Mr. Carter and to others whom I have introduced to your notice.

"Dr. Barron has not yet arrived, but I hope that the next packet may bring him. Possibly he may accept one of the places to be vacated by the elect. I have ordained eight priests this year, and thus supplied our missions; still I could place some more elsewhere, and shall feel thankful if you should send me two or three, as I have every confidence in your judgment.

"If you have not sent the copies of the missing letters you need not mind them, as I believe they were only letters of introduction which I have since received. Pisbach, whose appearance strengthened the unfavorable impression, left this for Cincinnati, though I know not whether he went thither or where he may be at present.

"I send you two volumes of the *Ecclesiastical History of Orsi*, of which we have duplicates, and beg to have, if convenient, the 16th volume which is wanting. I also beg that at a convenient time, you would send me the first part of my manuscript, of which I believe two or three numbers were left at Rome. I am writing a work on the Primacy in reply to Bp. Hopkins of the Episcopal Church,—*"incedo super ignes cineri suppositos doloso;"* When an opportunity occurs I shall send you a copy. The Lectures of Dr. Wiseman are being published in book form, and will appear in a few weeks. All is tranquil and favorable.

"Last evening a venerable Jesuit Father died suddenly in the street. He came from Goshenhoppen to our city the preceding evening in a weak state. He was called Fr. Boniface Corvin, but his Polish name was different. He was a holy man. Pray for him and for

"Your devoted servt in J. C.

"†FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. 12 Oct. 1837."



(Page 25). BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR :—Allow me to introduce to you Mr. Wood of Cincinnati, who goes to the Eternal city with a view, I believe, of preparing himself to be a minister of the holy Religion which he has embraced. Any attention which you may shew him will be gratefully regarded by

" Your devoted friend in Xt.

" †FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

" Phil. Oct. 12, 1837."

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(Page 26.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :—As I am about to enter on my annual Visitation, I write to renew the assurances of my friendship and to give you some news from this side of the Atlantic.

"Right Revd Dr. Purcell is here and proposes to sail from New York on the 16th. He will visit the Eternal city before his return, but he goes *via* Ireland. My brother's health being delicate, he resolved to join Bp. Purcell and expected to sail with him to Havre, but as the Bishop goes to Liverpool, he will sail in company with Revd J. McGill, a Pennsylvanian by birth but a Kentuckian by education. I have given them letters to you, and have also given letters to C. C. Biddle, a most respectable citizen, almost a Catholic, and Mr. McIlvaine of the U. S. Bank; also to Mr. and Mrs. Bousquet. I have likewise sent Henry Balfe, brother of Joseph, to Propaganda, having been induced to do so by the favorable opportunity presented by the journey of two young Dominicans to Rome, and by the known munificence of the S. Congn. The assurance given by Revd W. Whelan that Monsignore Mai promised to receive a youth whom he might send, emboldened me

to present one myself, especially as Joseph Balfe is approaching his Collegiate term. I rely on you to manage the affair.

"I am resolved on publishing my Theology, and would incline to dedicate it to his Holiness as a mark of my devoted attachment to the Holy See, if I be allowed this high honor. I have written a dedication which my brother takes with him to submit to you, that you may advise whether it be proper to solicit the favor. As you know the general tenor of the work, you can give his Holiness a view of it, in case it be expedient to ask the liberty of dedicating it to him. I should be glad to receive a letter from you on this subject previous to the printing of the first volume, which I purpose publishing soon after my return from my visitation. You need not wait to see the dedication, as my brother may tarry on the way. My intention to publish the Theology is not grounded on any conviction of its excellence, but on a desire to have one adapted to ourselves. I shall endeavor to improve the Manuscript.

"Our city is at present in considerable excitement. The Quakers friendly to the coloured race held several meetings in last month, in which whites and blacks appeared indiscriminately. This shocked the prejudices of many, and notwithstanding the liberty of opinion, the Pennsylvania Hall, a large building in which the meetings were held, was deliberately burnt without any serious effort to prevent this outrage. A house nearly finished, intended for coloured children, was also set on fire, and a Meeting house assailed and the windows broken. A Negro man escaped from the lunatic Asylum a few days since, and murdered a watchman; and on Saturday night, one or two negroes deliberately murdered an Irishman whom they accused of having assisted in arresting the lunatic. Last night there were serious indications of a riot to avenge this death, and we are still in dread that some dreadful vengeance will fall on the unhappy people of colour,

though there is no reason to think that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy.

"You know that Dr. Heyden refuses absolutely to accept the Mitre. Dr. Miles also hesitates. I wish the Pope would send *you* to us. Pray for

"Your affectionate friend in Xt.,

"†FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. June 13, 1838."

(Page 27.) BISHOP P. J. CAREW TO DR. CULLEN.

"ROYAL COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH. June 26. 1838.

"MY DEAR DR. CULLEN:—Doctor Moriarty, the Vicar General of Madras, will have the honor of presenting this letter to you. He goes to Rome to give an account of Doctor O'Connor's Mission, and unless I be greatly mistaken, the Holy See will deem the services rendered both by Doctor O'Connor and his excellent Vicar to the cause of Religion, to be entitled to the highest commendation.

"P. J. CAREW."

(Page 29.) BISHOP KENRICK TO VERY REVD. P. R. KENRICK.

"Very Revd Peter Richard Kenrick,

"To the care of Very Revd Paul Cullen,

"Rector of Irish College, Rome."

"Via new York and Havre."

"Optimo fratri Episcopus Arath. S.

"Litteris tuis acceptis quas 8 die Augusti scripsisti gavius sum Te consilium redeundi fovere, quamvis iter Vindobonam Te haud aggressurum aegro animo tulerim; inde

quippe et magnum in sermone Germanico profectum, liasque utilitates mihi pollicitus eram. Equidem nulla adhuc subsidia a sex annis mihi præbuit Dioecese Philadelphiensi Societas Leopoldina, quæ a Te certior facta de rerum conditione benignius forsitan et generosius erga me se geret. Doleo Te, mea forsitan incuria, copiam pecuniæ haud habere, ideoque curavi statim ut potestas Tibi fieret quamcumque velis comparandi. Grato humilique animo quæ in opere meo Theologico notasti perlegi, curam impensurus maximam ne merito simili poena luam errata. Saepius dolebam Te mihi non adstare librum edenti, vix enim alius animo adeo ingenuo menda mihi aperit. Quod ad librorum venditionem attinet, optimum mihi videtur si Collegia potius quam Bibliopolae, quinquaginta saltem exemplaria sumerent, duobus argenteis singula comparanda. Caeterum, animo anxio expecto Theologorum Romanorum iudicium, et Pontificis Supremi litteras, quas oro ut Tecum feras; exemplum si morari contigerit, ad me missurus. De valetudine quum sileas, de mea nil dicere oportere videtur; caeterum vix Tibi celandum duxi me in Medicorum manus incidisse, vitio corporis quod herniam vocant laborantem. Paucos post dies iterum meis potui fungi muneribus, sed non ideo penitus sublata est infirmitas, quamvis absit periculum. Coetera omnia fausta sunt et Episcopi Bardensis praesentia jucunda. Paulum (Cullen) salutes et quamplurimum me illi commendes."

"Dedi Philadelphiae in die festo Exalt. Crucis, 1839."

"Amotus est ab administratione suae diocesis invitatus Epus Neo-Eboracensis, Archiepiscopo Summi Pontificis nomine iubente ut eam suo Coadjutori relinquat. Haec rerum mutatio ob gravem aetatem et indolem fere necessaria est habita; sed quum omnis absit culpa doleo vices piissimi Praesulis. Puto etiam oportuisse rem tanti momenti ex consilio Praesulum geri, non solius Archiepiscopi et Coadjutoris praelaudati opera. Mentem meam

possis, si occasio adsit opportuna, Cardinali Praefecto aperire.

“Mane Epus Bardensis me rogante Diaconatum Devitt, Gilligan et Donahoe collaturus est.”

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(Page 30.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

“VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I should have written to you ere this to acknowledge your favor, but I was uncertain of your being in Rome. As in your last letter to Dr. Barron you do not intimate your intention soon to leave it, I venture to write to tell you how much I feel obliged to you for your kind attention to my brother. He is well and stays ad tempus at the Seminary with Dr. O'Connor, being still bent on becoming a child of St. Ignatius. Dr. O'C. is well and doing great good, respected and beloved. He has nineteen youths under his charge. Dr. Barron has been threatened with a return of his asthma, but he is now well.

“I have been requested by a Lady to make inquiry concerning her uncle, whom she supposes to be a Cardinal! Travelli was her father's name. He was a native of Genoa. If you should know any Prelate, or other Ecclesiastic in Rome of that name, you would gratify her by letting me know something of him when convenient.

“Our Council is summoned for 17th May, and I am resolved, if possible, to obtain a Bishop for Pittsburg. Dr. O'C. is the one on whom my views are fixed. But who shall take charge of the Seminary? My brother urges me to invite the Lazarists for whom I entertain a profound veneration. I am in hopes that Providence may send me some efficient aid from the Eternal City. Revd Mr. Kirby had shewn some inclination to our Mission. I should be most happy to have his aid either in the Seminary or on the Mission.



"The second volume of my Theology is published, and the third rapidly advancing. I hope the fourth may come out by the first of June.

"Religion is progressing and converts are in good number. Dr. Horner, Professor of Anatomy, was received into the Church by Bp. Hughes previous to his departure. I am so busy with my Theology that I cannot say half what I should wish, writing to so dear a friend.

"Pray for me and believe me Your devoted friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. Febr. 18. 1840."

Page 31.) REVD. P. R. KENRICK TO REVD. DR. KIRBY.

"PHILADELPHIA, June 29, 1840.

"REVD DEAR SIR :—My delay in replying to your letter of last February is to be attributed to the circumstance of my inability to obtain satisfactory information regarding the children of your deceased brother. On the receipt of your favor my brother wrote to Baltimore to a friend, directing him to have the necessary enquiries made; and as he himself was to visit Baltimore immediately after Easter, I hoped that he would have been able to ascertain the state of things. But although he made enquiries of the clergyman who attended your late brother, the only reply he brought back from Baltimore was that this clergyman promised to interest himself in the affair, and pleaded the great press of duties he had both during Lent and after Easter, in preparing for the Council, as the cause of his not having before complied with my brother's request.

"I myself wrote to Mr. Hanlon, the gentleman mentioned in your letter, and I received from him the answer that the widow of Mr. Kirby, together with her children, had left Baltimore and gone to reside in Stonington, Connecticut, with her father. He promised to make further

enquiry and to communicate to me the result. Mrs. Kirby is willing, as he says, that the children should be brought up Catholics; and yet it is evident that their faith must be much endangered by the circumstances in which they are placed. If I succeed in learning the priest's name who attends Stonington, I will endeavor to interest him in the matter; and should there appear any likelihood of effecting the object of your wishes, you may depend that nothing will be wanting on my brother's part, or that of Drs. Barron and O'Connor, for the furtherance of so laudable an object. I do not include myself, as I am not likely to remain many weeks in Philadelphia. Any letter that you may address to my brother on the subject will be attended to.

"I have scarcely room to beg of you to let Dr. Cullen know that I have sent to Revd John McCann, of Dublin, 11 pounds, to be put to his credit. In thus discharging my pecuniary obligation to him, you will let him know that I do not consider myself exonerated from the heavy debt of gratitude which the many acts of kindness I received from him while at Rome impose on me. I would ask after many friends, especially after my very dear friend, George B. Cukney, were it not useless, as I do not expect the favour of a reply. Permit me in conclusion to express once more my feeling of veneration for your virtues and of gratitude for your attention to me during my visit to Rome.

"I remain, Revd Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"P. R. KENRICK."

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(Page 32.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR: \* \* \* You may have learned from another quarter that my nomination for Pittsburg was not sustained. Dr. O'Connor was regarded

as [being] too short a time in the country and objected to as not naturalized; three years abode here being necessary for this privilege. I did not think these objections possessed much weight, and therefore declined making any other nomination. The names of Very Revd Dr. Barron and of an old and most worthy missionary, Revd David Mulholland, were second and third on my list, with the understanding that the first was my choice. Being defeated in this effort to obtain a Bishop for this See, which all agree should be created, I have referred the matter to the Holy See and begged that by its supreme authority a bishop may be forthwith appointed. I shall be satisfied with anyone whom the Pope may judge fit for the office. May I beg of you to use your influence to have this matter, so long deferred, finally terminated.

"My *Theologia Dogmatica* is completed. Bp. Rosati has taken with him to Rome two copies, one for Signor Cremisini, Superior of the Missionaries, and the other for Signor Ugo, my confessor. I could not trouble him with more, or I should have supplied you, but I hope some opportunity may soon offer itself. I mean to set about the Moral on my return. If you will favour me with your judgment and corrections, I shall endeavor to profit by them.

"My brother has just published the life of St. Ignatius, and is engaged in preparing that of St. Francis X. You see where his heart lies. He also has translated Gerambi's visit to Rome, which is already out of Press. Lacordaire's *Apology for Religious Orders* is in Press, and Audin's *Life of Luther* is ready for publication, corrected and improved. He has published '*The Month of Mary.*' These works have delayed the execution of his purpose, but I fear not changed it. I do not calculate with any certainty on finding him here at my return.

"The progress of Religion and state of the public mind are consoling. Gloom has yielded to Sunshine. I ordained Steinbacher and a young Irishman on Sunday last.

Gibson has arrived and will enter the Seminary in August, at the Commencement of our Scholastic Year. There are now 17 or 18 students. The prospects are cheering.

"The children of the late Mr. Kirby have gone with their mother and grandfather to Maine, with little prospect of their Catholic education. Tell Revd Mr. Kirby to come here, and he may be able to look after them. We all feel quite anxious, but know not what to do for them. How much it would console me to see yourself here to share my labors.

"Your affectionate friend in Xt.,

"FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. June 23, 1840."

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(Page 33.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—An Episcopalian Clergyman, Revd C. H. Alden, being about to visit Rome, I take the liberty of recommending him to your kind attention, in the hope that your acquaintance with the Roman Establishments and Dignitaries may render his visit not only agreeable but profitable. Your attention will oblige

"Your affectionate Friend,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. &c."

"Phil. May 20, 1841."

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(Page 34.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—James O'Connor, brother of our common friend, is the bearer of this letter. He has been admitted as a student of the Urban College. His brother has been formally announced in the *Catholic Telegraph* as Bishop of Charleston. This makes me withdraw all opposition to his appointment, as public

expectation being directed to him, the appointment of another might be followed by some disagreeable manifestations. It is indeed doubtful whether he will accept, as he has declared his determination not to accept that See or Pittsburg; but I imagine he will finally consent. I have no suitable person to replace him. I wish you or Revd Mr. Kirby would cross the Atlantic and become my partner. I requested the Bishop of St. Louis to reimburse you what you had expended for Revd Mr. Cosgrave. You may call on him for any expenses which have since accrued, and I shall account with his agent here for any sum he shall pay you.

"The state of things at New Orleans is conflicting. The vexatious proceedings of the Marguillers forced the clergy to leave the Cathedral. This measure has not yet subdued the obstinacy of these men who continue through the public papers to misrepresent and revile the clergy. When the schism will be terminated cannot be foreseen. The Bishop has shewed great condescension, but the men with whom he has to deal do not know [how] to appreciate it. He is a mild and excellent prelate.

"I send you two volumes of my Moral Theology. Another remains which I hope to publish before the Council which is to open on the 14th May. With sentiments of sincere gratitude for many favors. I remain

"Your devoted friend,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Dec. 29, 1842."

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(Page 35.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I forward by this day's mail a draft on Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co. to Messrs. Verdon & Cullen, for £22:10:0, corresponding to 108 dollars of our money, to your credit on account of



Revd Patrick Costello. His father died nearly two years ago, but provision is made in his will for the support of his afflicted son ; and the widow will no doubt carry out his intentions, unless the reverses of the times take away the means. As you furnished no bill, she made her calculation of a year's maintenance from Dec. 1841 to last December. We take it for granted that the Bishop of St. Louis paid you 75 dollars 60 cents which were due you, as by your account ending at that time. I requested him to do so and credited him accordingly. If this has not been done please let me know, as the money was paid to me and I am of course responsible.

"I hope your health is reestablished. A trip across the Atlantic would be, in my opinion, a sure remedy ; but this is too much for us to hope for. If we could establish the Christian Brothers here, much good would be doubtless done ; but they were unable to come when solicited by me through the good Bishop of Constantina. Education here is in a sad condition. The Public Schools are everywhere conducted in a way to leave the children without any religious impression, or to impress them with sectarian views. The Bible is the symbol and watchword of the sects. The Bishop of New York has been fairly worsted by them, and although I obtained some concessions from the Controllers, they are not likely to be carried out fully in practice. Justice and good faith are little regarded. The Ladies of the S. Heart have opened a Noviciate in Conewago, but in Philadelphia nothing is yet done for female education on a Catholic plan, save what the Sisters of Charity do for the poor. A Protestant Association has been here formed, but as yet it has met with little favor.

"You may have heard of a challenge given me to a public discussion by the protestant Episcopal Bishop of Vermont, Dr. Hopkins. I declined an oral debate, and offered to correspond through the Press, which he declined. I should be glad to know from you whether the prohi-

bition to hold public discussions mentioned in Antoine, or rather in the notes of Fr. Philip of Carboneano, regards this country. It formed my chief difficulty; but independently of it, I think that the vituperation usual on such occasions is more injurious to Religion than the vindication of truth can be useful; so that my determination is never to enter on an oral discussion in a public place. I offered a private conference before a few intelligent friends for the purpose of conciliation, but it was declined.

"Dr. O'Connor is well and actively employed at Pittsburg. His brother left this for the Eternal city at Christmas. I am expecting O'Hara who, I understand, is soon to be ordained. Dr. Balfe goes to the—[paper torn, next word missing, F. K.] at Easter. I scarcely hope to keep Dr. O'C. beyond the Council. Perhaps something decisive may be done even before it. If you have any Apostolic man in view, you may send him to me. Two could be easily employed.

"I am assured by a clergyman of S. C. in whose word I place reliance, that the charges against the dignissimus are groundless. However it is thought that the Bishop should come from another quarter.

"Religion advances amidst difficulties. Conversions are numerous and the eagerness to hear Catholic truth is increasing.

"Pray for us and believe me Your devoted friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. March 28, 1843."

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(Page 36.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I delayed answering your favor of 17th August in the hope to have it in my power to remit the money due you on account of Revd

P. Costello ; but I have hitherto been disappointed. However I shall hold myself responsible for it and I hope to remit it after some time. The good father left \$2.000 for this purpose. Unfortunately his children have instituted vexatious litigation against their stepmother, the receiver of his monies, whereby it becomes impossible at present to reach the money. They promise to pay in March. If the delay prove inconvenient, you may draw on me at three days sight for any sum due you.

“ I wrote to you at the time I sent the last remittance, but you are so careless a correspondent that it requires an effort to continue writing. It would gratify me much, and might be useful to Religion, to correspond more frequently.

“ We have just received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Bishop Rosati, and the news of the confirmation of the appointments. Here affairs go on smoothly, but at New Orleans an infidel faction are struggling to destroy or subjugate the Episcopal authority. A fallen French priest, Foulhouze, is the editor of an impious paper, the organ of the Marguillers. The Bishop is an excellent man, but not very firm. His neighbor, the Bishop of Mobile, has I fear increased the difficulty of his position by his relations with the disturbers, since these eagerly avail themselves of an ambiguous word to annoy their own prelate. It is hard to see what will be the end of all this. The leaders in disorder are Freemasons, and they contrived to set apart a lot in the Cemetery for their Masonic brethren, and had it dedicated by a speech from their Grand Master who is a Marguiller. In New York the Native American party, a political body, is violent in its denunciation of Bp. Hughes, but the Catholics are united.

“ The Temperance movement is likely to suffer from the proceedings in England, as Father Matthews does not appear consistent. The declaration of the Council seemed fortunate and timely. If not checked and regu-

lated it would degenerate into fanaticism, and cold water regimen would be the unum necessarium and summum bonum. If indulgences were granted, as I solicited, to a Society of volunteers, the best encouragement would be given.

"We expect the Bp. of Pittsburg in a few days. The Bp. of Cincinnati has just arrived.

"In receiving converts, our Ritual prescribes the profession of faith in the same terms, including the last clause, as made by the Bishops. Is it customary to exact this form from women and lay people generally?—*faciam praedicari,—doceri ab iis quorum cura ad me spectabit in munere meo*—. In the Irish prayer books the last clause is entirely omitted, and the solemn words—*spondeo, juro et voveo*—omitted likewise. Some one had intimated that the simple abjuring clause, without the entire formula, would suffice, which would be most convenient in case of sickness or where the person cannot read. At your leisure I would be thankful [for your] views on these points.

"The third volume of my *Theology* is printed which I shall forward to you in due time. I have learned from Dr. O'Hara that the copies of my *Dogmatic Theology*, having been damaged at sea, were thrown into a room of the Propaganda and left to rot there. Perhaps some copies could be found for my good preceptor Fenucci, for Bp. O'Finan, Revd Mr. Theiner and some others. I would be glad to have your observations freely and in detail on the whole work, to avail myself of them in the contingency of a second edition, of which at present there is little probability.

"Believe me Your sincere friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Nov. 23, 1843."

"P. S. I am sorry to discover that the publisher of the *Herald* has neglected to forward it regularly. I have repeatedly directed it to be sent."

(Page 37.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :—I have not as yet got the money from the Costello family, but look forward to March according to their promise. In the meantime you can draw on me for the money unless you prefer to wait until I receive it.

"I sent you by Mr. Joseph Koecker the remaining volume of my Moral Theology. You would oblige me by giving your judgment on it freely and pointing out all the points that need correction.

"It is stated that Dr. Reynolds has determined on refusing the mitre. This will leave the wound gaping. It would not be right to urge him, although I think he would have done well to accept. I am not altogether certain of his having refused. I write in haste, and can only say how sincerely I remain

"Your devoted friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Jan. 1, 1844."

(Page 38.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :—Mr. James Willcox, the bearer, goes to Propaganda on the strength of a letter from Bp. O'Connor who was authorized to send two students to the College. He is of a respectable family and of pious dispositions. I trust his size will not be an objection. His age is only 20. I have the hope of sending you very soon the sum due for Revd Mr. Costello, and I have written to request you to hand to Revd J. P. [?] Wood of the Urban College ten dollars which I shall add to my remittance.

"Wishing you great blessings, I remain Your faithful friend,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. March 15, 1844."



(Page 39.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—Dr. Horner, an eminent physician, who about six years ago embraced the faith and was received into the Church by Bishop Hughes, sends his work on Special Anatomy as a mark of respect to his Holiness. His daughter, a child I believe, has wrought with her own hands the markers which are inserted for the reader's convenience. You will oblige me much by presenting to his Holiness this standard work, which although on Physiology and in English, will still be, I trust, acceptable as a token of his profound veneration. It is a new and improved edition of a work already presented through Bp. Hughes. If you can procure some mark of his Holiness' gracious acceptance of the offering, and some token for the young lady (or child I know not which,) you will greatly gratify me. I send with Mr. Willcox the third volume of my Moral Theology, having already presented the Dogmatic and the two first volumes of Moral through the Archbishop of Camerino. Whether it be worth while to complete the work by offering it, you may best judge. Two other volumes, one for the Archbishop, the other for Don Lorenzo Valenzi, his Uditore, accompany this. You will oblige me by forwarding them when convenient.

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. PHIL."

"Phil. March 18, 1844."

(Page 46.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I beg to recommend to your attention Mr. John McCawley and lady who travel with the hope of improving the health of a young member of the family. The gentleman is a respectable citizen, and his lady a Catholic belonging to a respectable French family. Any attention you may have it in your

power to bestow on them during their stay in the Eternal city will oblige

“Your faithful friend,

“† FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. Phil.”

“Phil. May 1, 1844.”

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(Page 41.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

“VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I have been hitherto disappointed in my expectations to be able to send to you the money kindly advanced for poor Costello, but his friends by foolish litigation have rendered themselves unable to pay as yet. Their affairs are to come before Court on Saturday next, and there is some hope of the money being then paid. In every contingency I shall hold myself responsible for whatever you have advanced, and you may draw on me at any time at three days sight for the amount.

“I leave to our friends who visit Rome to state the particulars of the persecution which we have endured and which threatens further ravages. The Bishop’s oath is a fruitful theme with fanatics and politicians as also the Pope’s Encyclical letter, the Bulla Coenae, &c. You have not yet informed me of the formulary deemed necessary at Rome for receiving heretics. The profession of faith of Pius IV contains a promise to cause the doctrine to be preached by those under the charge of the individual, which seems inapplicable to women and laymen generally.

“I am engaged in making a new edition of my work on the Primacy. It will be almost a new work altogether. Whether I shall succeed in avoiding Scylla and Charybdis when treating of the deposing power and Inquisition, I doubt. You ought to mark out to me whatever you deem inexact or erroneous in my writings, as I wish to correct

anything that may escape me unadvisedly. The liberty of the Press enjoyed here is greatly restricted by public opinion, alias prejudice.

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. June 27, 1844."

(Page 42.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :—I have waited until now in the hope of receiving from the Costellos some part of the arrears for the poor afflicted brother, but I have been utterly disappointed. You however may draw on me at three days after sight for whatever you may have advanced for him, and I will wait to be reimbursed when their conscience may be awakened. You are to add ten dollars which you paid by my directions to Revd. Mr. Wood. I must owe you a great deal for books bought for me, the advantage of which I feel in my studies. The library of the Seminary, to which I consider them as belonging, numbers you among the most generous benefactors. Your brother in Liverpool can draw on me if you prefer. If possible, it would be well to get poor Patrick Costello on some Charity establishment, as there is little hope that his relatives will execute the will of his father in his behalf. They have spent in foolish litigation what should be employed for his support.

"I need not trouble you with a recital of our woes, but will only state that all is tranquil now and confidence is nearly restored. Damages have been awarded for the School-house which was burnt, but as yet the Church cases are undecided. Little hope can be entertained, so great is public prejudice. The political agitation of Nativism is likely to continue.

"The situation of my excellent friend, Bp. Barron, excites my sympathy. I will willingly receive him as my

Coadjutor if the Holy Father please. I omit making a formal application [so as] not to be obliged to notify all the Bishops. You may communicate my views and dispositions to his Holiness or to the Cardinal Prefect.

"I mean to publish a new work on the Primacy on a more extensive plan in a few weeks. Mr. Pierce Connelly has written to Mr. Fithian, the publisher of the *Herald*, urging him to send English books to Rome to be sold by Bourliè, but he hesitates. If an exchange could be effected for works fit for our library, we could send a supply of orthodox works. Some difficulty might arise at the Dogana unless a permit were obtained. In case you can conveniently inquire, it may be advantageous to Religion to have this interchange.

"I regret that you do not write to me often. The fault may be my own, but I have been waiting to send you the money for Costello.

"Your affectionate friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. 14 Dec. 1844."

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(Page 43.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—It is time that I should express in writing my deep sense of your generous hospitality and affectionate treatment during my stay in the Eternal city. My journey thence was prosperous, and I reached home at the close of the festival of our National independence. Dr. P. Cullen came to Dublin and accompanied me to Liverpool, and left me only on the boat which took me to the Steamer. Bp. Barron was unable to make his arrangements in time to accompany me, but I suppose he is now on the blue waves bound for these free shores. All was peaceful during my absence and is likely to continue so, notwithstanding some efforts to organize

and perpetuate the Native party. We have just been visited by Orestes A. Brownson, who has not feared to advance in a public lecture that it is impossible to maintain popular liberty without the Catholic Religion. He is a man of great powers of mind, and unites the utmost docility and simplicity of faith with fearless candor.

"The Archbishop of Baltimore was severely hurt in attempting to escape from his carriage when the horses were running away, but he is now recovered. He held an Ordination a short time since.

"I beg of you to inform me at your earliest convenience whether you received any funds for me from the Paris association. The property of which I spoke to you has been purchased during my absence for 34,000 dollars, and I must seek in some way to liquidate the debt. I wish you to retain of whatever money may come into your hands on my account, three hundred dollars to be placed to the credit of Monsignor Cullen. If I can obtain his claim from the relatives of Revd. P. Costello, I shall forward the balance. \* \* \* Should the S. Congn. be able to come to my relief, I shall be ever grateful for any aid towards the Seminary. Unless some kind friend be raised up by Providence I know not what we shall do.

"If Dr. Heyden be still with you, please inquire the name and residence of the priest to whom he entrusted the medals and rosaries for Dr. Horner and his daughter. They have not as yet come to hand. I delivered those entrusted to my care, which were gratefully received by the worthy Professor.

"Mr. P. Connelly urged me to send some copies of my Theology to Bourliè for sale, as also my work on the Primacy and some other books which might be useful to English visitors. If he will name a Consignèe at Leghorn to receive and transmit them I will send any number he may order, and receive in return books selected from his own stock, such as *Canones et Decreta Conc. Tridentini*, Palma, Perrone, &c. Should you find it convenient to



make this arrangement with him I shall feel obliged to you. In case you can send a number of such books as you may judge useful to the Seminary, I shall send in return sand for gold. You recollect the Address:—For the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Philadelphia. Excuse my boldness in troubling you. Please remember me affectionately to Revd Mr. Molony, and to all your Community, and believe me

“Your obliged friend in Xt.,

“† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil.”

“Phil. July 12, 1845.”

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(Page 44.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

“REVD AND DEAR SIR:—I have duly received your favor of 28th June enclosing the draft of Mr. Gallien. To avoid delay I have taken measures to negotiate it in New York, so that you will only have in your treasury to my credit whatever the generosity of the S. Congn. may bestow towards this Mission. The purchase of the additional ground for Seminary and Church is as yet incomplete, owing to the tergiversation and manœuvering of the proprietor. I should scarcely regret disappointment as it would relieve me from the necessity of finding money, which I know not where to look for. I rely on you to forward me the box of books as soon as convenient. I should be glad to have a copy of Martini's Italian Bible. You have not forgotten the address:—‘To the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Philadelphia, U. S. A.’ Dr. Barron has been induced by my brother to visit St. Louis, where he will probably make his residence. My brother being delicate needs aid, and he will do all in his power for the comfort of our good friend. Dr. B. was in excellent health when he left here above two weeks since in company of my brother.

"There is no likelihood of the renewal of the scenes of last year. The firemen have had riots among themselves without reference to religious differences. These are likely to be merged in the absorbing topics of the day. War with Mexico is expected.

"I am going on my Visitation for a few weeks. I hope to hear from you soon after my return and often hereafter. You must be a better correspondent than Dr. Cullen. I don't wish you to give yourself much trouble about the Book concern, save to dispatch those which belong to me as soon as convenient. Dr. Barron's books may travel in company with them. Salute especially my old friend, Father James Meagher, and forget not Messrs. Norris and Molony.

"With sincere attachment I remain

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Aug 21, 1845.

"Rev'd Tobias Kirby, V.P. Irish College."

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(Pape 45.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REV'D AND DEAR FRIEND:—I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Mr. Joseph Swift, a highly respectable citizen, who is on a visit to the Eternal city. Any attention to him will greatly oblige

"Your faithful friend,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil, Oct. 16. 1845."

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(Pape 46.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

"REV'D AND DEAR FRIEND:—Not having received any line from you in reply to my letter of 11 July, I take up my pen to complain. I expected to have had my box of books with that of Dr. Barron long before this time, but

hitherto nothing has been heard of them. If they are still in your keeping, you may retain them a little longer, in case you have made satisfactory arrangements with Bourliè to send me books in return for a large invoice sent him 21 ult. by Ship St. Cloud, bound to Leghorn, and consigned to Bell, De Yongh & Co. Latin Bibles, Catechismus Romanus, Imitatio Christi will be acceptable. We need a large number of the Biblia Vulgata for the use of our students. As it may be a long time before my books reach Rome I think it better for you to send the box as it is by the earliest opportunity. Be careful to direct it to 'The Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Philadelphia,' and to advise me of the way taken for its transmission, and to direct the merchant who may ship it to give the regular advice to me by letter. Boxes are easily mislaid and lost from the neglect of these precautions. You may send it by way of New York, if no opportunity offer for our port.

"Having retained here and sold the draft which you returned to me, I fear I may be in your debt, especially if Propaganda declined giving the aid which was promised. The purchase made in my absence, of which I made mention in my former letter, has not yet been secured. I have just succeeded in a law suit brought to recover a Presbyterian Church, purchased by me at public sale in April, 1835, but I am to release the premises on payment of 7.000 dollars with interest, whereof 4.000 were paid by me and will of course return into my purse if the litigious possessors submit to the terms of the verdict. The trial occupied 10 days before Joel Jones, a presbyterian judge, but a man of great integrity, and a Protestant jury, some of whom were strongly prejudiced. This result tells well for the returning sense of justice, even to Catholics. The Church cases have not yet come on for trial; but hope is brightening since the Natives are now a forlorn party; their strength being completely broken by the elections here and in New York and Baltimore.

"Bp. Barron has been attacked with fever in Missouri, but is now sufficiently well to visit the diocese for my brother who is reported to be in improved health. The cause of Religion advances, though not so rapidly in this city as report says. Peace is perfectly restored and security is felt. Two ministers were on the point of joining the Church, but have drawn back from temporal considerations,—one being solicitous for the support of his family, and the other for his own future employment.

"I trust you will be a more regular correspondent hereafter. If Dr. Cullen be returned, give him my most affectionate remembrance; also to Father Maher, Messrs. Norris, Molony &c. and believe me

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Nov. 15, 1845."

(Page 47.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—Revd T. Birmingham of the diocese of Charleston, being on his way to the Eternal city, I take the liberty of introducing him to your acquaintance. I wrote in July and October to the worthy Vice Rector, but have not had the good fortune to receive a word of reply, or to hear from any quarter what has become of my books &c. Bp. Barron who is now in Missouri aiding my brother, received a letter which led him to believe that the books which he had directed to be sent to him would soon arrive. Very Revd Dr. Heyden is amazed that his books have not come. We are all vexed at this neglect of our commissions. Sometimes we fancy that the books were sent, but the precaution omitted to advise us of the name of the vessel, Captain and port, or of the Consignées. Bp. O'Connor adds nothing to our comfort by telling us how his books went wandering.

"May I beg of you to send me the new work of Vicenzi, of the Sapienza, on the Deutero Canonical Scriptures, and one or two copies of the large Breviary in 4 vols? I know not whether you have any available funds of mine for this purpose, but I will take care to repay any outlay. I am mortified at being unable to send anything for poor Costello. His relatives totally neglect him, and there is no legal means of compelling them to pay.

"I have been sadly embarrassed on the subject of dispensations. In the confidence that the faculties given me ad decennium of dispensing in cultus disparitate could be communicated, I had communicated them to the clergy; but Bp. O'Connor is of opinion that special leave was necessary. I wrote last month to the Cardinal Prefect to implore a remedy, and am most anxious to obtain the power of communicating this faculty, as well as that which concerns mixed marriages in general. The necessity is most frequent and urgent, since our Catholics are few in number, and generally apply for marriage to priests in the country parts without any previous notice, and if remanded, are exposed to the danger of attempting the contract before a civil magistrate or a preacher. A limited number of cases is of no use since they are of daily occurrence. Will you exert your influence to have the powers sent me with all possible speed?

"I beg your solution of this case. There exists serious ground for doubting the validity of baptism administered in the sects. In case of a mixed marriage where the party is unprepared to become a Catholic, can the validity of the baptism be presumed quoad hoc? Or must a dispensation be given as in case of disparity of worship?

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"Of Revd T. Bermingham, the bearer of this letter, I say nothing since the letters of his own Bishop, which commend highly his character, are a sufficient recommendation.



"Remember me affectionately to your good uncle and to Dr. Kirby with all other friends in College and out of it and believe me      "Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Jan. 12, 1846."

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(Page 48.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I hasten to acknowledge your favor of 18th last month and to thank you for your kind exertions in behalf of this diocese. If they prove successful, I shall gratefully receive the aid and use it carefully; but I do not wish you to urge the matter, since I know the many calls on the S. Congn. I thank you for having sent the books, but regret that you did not inform me, or cause your agent who shipped them to inform me, from what port, by what vessel and Captain, and to what merchants the vessel was consigned. For want of these necessary precautions many boxes sent under similar circumstances never reached their destination. The inscription or some essential portion of it is easily defaced, or if legible, no one cares to inform the parties interested, so that the boxes are thrown away into some Custom-house store and afterwards sold for expenses. A letter of advice from the agent would obviate this difficulty.

"I am obliged for your promise to procure me the best value from Bourliè in return for my books, which I hope will have reached the city without damage by the time this letter will reach you. I do not wish however that you should take great trouble about it. If I can have one or more copies of a Theological work on the Deuterocanonical Books by Father Vicenzi of the Sapienza, I shall be glad. I would also gladly receive any book that may be accessible, or any information otherwise attainable, regarding the prisons of the Roman States and prison societies. It is particularly desired by the gentleman for whom I solicit this information that statistics and dates should be accurate.

"Of course, if there be no easy way of getting all this knowledge, on receiving your answer to this effect I will notify the citizen philanthropist. Revd Sigr. Tornatore, C. M. expects some books from his nephew in Monte Citorio, which might be sent with mine as he is professor in the Seminary. He is well and cheerful.

"I received at the Hotel de Rome in Marseilles a package addressed to the French Consul at Cività Vecchia, and left it at the Custom-house requesting the officer to notify the Consul. Being a stranger I did not know where to find the Consul and relied on the courtesy of the officer. This was on 14th May last. I hope that the gentleman interested by applying to the Custom-house officer may obtain it. There were some engravings detained at the same time which reached Rome through the Cardinal Bishop of C[ività] V[ecchia] a few days after my arrival. This left me no doubt that the other package had been safely delivered.

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"As my position obliges me to give letters to some travellers I fear I may be troublesome to my friends. I generally am cautious in the wording of them. Mr. B. brings with him an elegant bound Bible, which Cunningham, a Catholic bookseller of great enterprise, wishes to be presented to his Holiness.

"I sent for power to communicate the faculties of dispensing in disparitate cultus and ad licite contrahendum cum haereticis. The cases are so frequent that they are needed without limitation and without delay.

"Please remember me to Dr. Cullen, Father Meagher and all friends and believe me

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Jan. 26. 1846."

"Anxiety is felt about the health of Browne, a student of Prop."

(Page 49.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :—Despite of all my misgivings the boxes have reached this city, for which I beg you to accept my warmest thanks. I have written to notify the Bishops of Pittsburg and Eucarpia and Dr. Heyden, of the arrival of the books, paintings &c. belonging to them, and I shall take measures to forward them. By some chance the *Pars Aestiva* of the Breviary printed by Salviucci is not forthcoming. If you should discover it in the rooms occupied by me, you may send it by some opportunity. Its red cover may serve to distinguish it. I find a box of relics from W. Purcell intended for Mrs. Mooney, Presentation Convent, Kildare, which I shall forward by the first opportunity. A copy of the decrees of the Council of Trent is directed to Revd P. Leahy, but without designating his residence. This I must keep until further advised.

"I am ashamed to trouble you with my commissions, but your kindness emboldens me. If my books be deemed worth anything, I should be glad to have Propaganda editions of *Biblia Vulgata*, *Catechismus Romanus*, *Decreta Conc. Trid.*, *Theologia Perrone*, *Imitatio Christi*, in any number, as they would be useful to my Theological Students. I wish to procure two copies of Salviucci's latest edition of the Breviary in 4 parts, two copies of Bellarmine's *Controversies*, and should it be possible, a complete copy of all the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. I have already several editions of the *Summa*. I shall take an opportunity to send cash for these purchases. \* \* \*

"The Propaganda has advised me of an appropriation of 4,000 francs of the Bavarian funds, made by the S. Congn. in favor of this diocess, for which I feel myself indebted to you. If they were pounds, I need them, since I have recently purchased property to the amount of \$37.200 without any means to pay. It is the same property for which a contract had been made in my absence. To diminish my responsibility I have given half of it to the

Ladies of the S. Heart at the interest of the purchase money, which remains charged on it as a mortgage. They are about opening a Boarding School.

"Propaganda has not noticed my petition for power to communicate the faculty of dispensing in disparitate cultus, and for a remedy for contracts already made whilst I conceived myself authorized to communicate the faculty given me. Will you be kind enough to inquire into the cause of this reserve?

"Remember me affectionately to Monsignore Cullen, Revd J. Maher, and all friends, and believe me Very sincerely, Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. March 23, 1845."

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(Page 50.) BISHOP KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I acknowledged, in a letter to Dr. Kirby, the receipt of the books belonging to Dr. Barron and myself, with some articles for Bp. O'Connor who still complains that many are missing. In addition, there came a box of relics for Presentation Convent, Kildare, which I shall forward if a favorable opportunity presents itself.

"The refusal of the Holy See to allow me to communicate the faculty of dispensing in disparitate cultus and in matrimoniis mixtis embarrasses me a great deal. In the country parts the parties sometimes ride a great distance to be married, and bear no delay, the protestant party insisting on a marriage before a preacher or squire, (as the magistrate is styled,) when the priest refuses. Dr. O'Connor assured me that he had obtained the power of communicating all the faculties. See can you make them sensible of my difficulties. By the bye, the majority of the prelates in the late Provincial Council voted for a petition to be allowed to perform ceremonies in mixed

marriages usque ad annuli porrectionem inclusive. I was in the minority, not liking 'figere et refigere leges.'

"I shall not trouble the S. Congn. on the doubt of the validity of marriage, or baptism, in the circumstances to which I referred, since the doubt does not arise from the mode of baptizing prescribed in the sects, which is manifestly valid, but from the carelessness of individuals performing the baptism. Dr. O'Connor proposed some questions concerning Secret Societies which have not yet been answered. There are here Odd-Fellows, Sons of Temperance, Red Men, and various other secret societies all of which we have hitherto regarded as included in the Pontifical decrees. He seems to restrict the prohibition to Free Masons, or to others known to be hostile to Religion and Society. Very Revd J. Timon, a most venerable clergyman, inclines to the same opinion, which however seems to me to open a wide door to secret societies, all of whom, as well as Free Masons, positively deny that they have in view anything inconsistent with their duty to God and their country.

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"The proceedings of our Council will, I suppose, have reached the Eternal city before this letter. The Bishop of Vincennes pressed his resignation on the Council, and succeeded in obtaining the assent of a majority. I hope the Holy See will only give him a Coadjutor, and leave the Bishop free to continue in the administration of the diocess. Should Very Revd J. Timon, who is first on the list, be given him as Coadjutor, I am confident that all things will go well. The Bishop is, I am convinced, a most worthy man but sometimes rather arbitrary and impetuous. \* \* \* Revd Mr. Rappe has been named first for the intended diocese of Cleaveland. All admit his worth, but some deem him unqualified in regard to the English language. This deficiency seems the primary cause of the diffidence and despondence of the Bishop of Vincennes, and should be considered when the



creation of a new See is in question. Cleaveland is but a small town, and has only a church attended by one priest. It tends to degrade the episcopacy to put a bishop in such a place. The unfortunate haste with which Little Rock and Hartford were made Sees in a former Council, should cause us to pause where a new See is to be erected, especially when qualified subjects are scarce. There will be no serious inconvenience from deferring action on this point to the next Council.

"It is said that the Bishop of Louisville and his Coadjutor have written to Rome to prevent Mr. Timon being named for Vincennes. If a Bishop or Coadjutor be appointed, he should be the man, in my humble opinion. It will be time enough to think of a bishop for Louisville, when the venerable Bishop dies, or his Coadjutor absolutely resigns.

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"I exerted myself in vain to obtain the erection of metropolitical Sees at New Orleans, St. Louis, Cincinnati and New York, seven only voting with me. If Galveston be erected into a bishopric, the Holy See could without offence originate the measure by subjecting it to the Bishop of New Orleans. Cleaveland if erected, might be subjected to the bishop of Cincinnati. Albany and Buffalo, if erected, to the Bishop of N. York. The full arrangement of the other Sees might be postponed to the next Council. If Little Rock be intrusted to the administration of the Bishop of St. Louis, it might also be declared dependent on that See. On consulting the Maps you will perceive that the vast extent of country demands this number of metropolitans, all of whom would have four or five suffragans, and a much greater number in a short time. The Bishops seemed anxious to know the mind of the Holy See on this point, and there is a fair opportunity to originate that measure.

"The Government has recently applied for Catholic Chaplains to be sent to the army now engaged with the

Mexicans ; and solicited the Bishop of New York to go in an official capacity. This, however, may not be carried into effect ; but the priests, two excellent Jesuits, are already on their way. Remember me affectionately to Fr. Maher, Dr. Kirby, and all friends.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Your affectionate friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. June 5, 1846."

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(Page 51.) BISHOP P. R. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Revd Mr. Melcher, one of the Vicars General of this diocese, who visits Rome with the view of promoting the interests of Religion in this portion of the Western Continent. I willingly profit by the occasion to assure you of the great esteem with which I remain

"Your very humble and obedt. servt. in Xt.,

"PETER RICHARD, Bp. of St. Louis."

"St. Louis, 24th July, 1846."

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(Page 52.) BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—Your have received, I trust, ere this fifty pounds forwarded by your brother Thomas to my credit. I wish you to reimburse yourself out of them for the two sets of Breviaries and the work of Vincenzi, which have arrived safe; and for any claim Dr. Kirby may have on me. \* \* \*

"A letter from the agent of the Propaganda at Leghorn announces some paintings and other articles as shipped from that port to be distributed according to the instruc-

tions of Cardinal Frasoni. They have not yet arrived; nor have I received any instructions from his Eminence. Possibly the books sent by Dr. Kirby may be with the paintings. Why did he not write a line to inform me what books were coming and how paid for?

"Mr. Major, the recent convert in this city, has written a learned and beautiful essay on the authority of the Holy See. The Episcopalians must be greatly influenced by his reasoning, if they will hear the voice of one who lately ranked as minister among them. The tendency to the Catholic Church is very much on the increase. Hoyt and Hewitt, recent converts elsewhere, are estimable men, full of information, and without moral blemish. A fourth Episcopal minister, who was received at Baltimore, is studying in the Seminary of that city. The P. E. Bp. of N. Jersey lately borrowed my Pontifical, apparently to prepare for laying the corner stone of a new church. He also wished to have the works of Duranti, which, however, I did not possess.

"I have ventured to lay the foundation of a grand Cathedral, 216 by 120 feet. Unless Providence assists me wonderfully, I shall be like the man that built the tower without counting the cost.

"In the month of September I paid a visit to the West. Bp. Barron had recently recovered from a slight fever, and was actively engaged in visiting the diocese of St. Louis. My brother was well, though not [robust.] He means to publish a new edition of the work on Anglican Ordinations, and will probably come to this city for that purpose. He is anxious to know the value of the criterion used in his former work for distinguishing genuine commissions of the Queen.

"We have heard as yet nothing of the action of Rome in reference to the Council, save the approval of Immaculata &c. I am assured that Revd Mr. Rappe, recommended for the new See of Cleveland, is a saintly and practical man, well suited for the place. The translation of Bp.

Byrne seems a dangerous precedent. The Bp. of Vincennes is personally an excellent prelate but cannot agree with his priests. It is desirable that he should have an efficient Coadjutor; but it is extremely doubtful whether he would harmonize with any one, his views are so peculiar. Very Revd John Timon ought to be made Bishop, but is suited for a larger diocess. Buffalo would be benefited by having him and the Bishop of New York would rejoice. I have heard others desire that he were one day at the head of the hierarchy in these States. He is doubtless most worthy.

"If the consecration oath could be simplified and cleared of its feudal phraseology, the enemies of the Church would lose the matter of gross misrepresentation.

"I am thankful for the dispensation which however does not embrace cases of *disparitas cultus* which are very frequent here. In the distant parts of the diocess, it is important that the missionaries should be authorized to dispense in it, since delay exposes the parties to have recourse to magistrates or ministers.

"I hope to hear from you soon. Give my respects to Dr. Kirby and all friends, and believe me

"Your faithful friend in Xt.,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Dec. 1846."

(Page 53). BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. KIRBY.

"REVD AND DEAR FRIEND: I owe you many thanks for the excellent selection of books which you made, all of which have arrived in perfect order. I was surprised to find a few pamphlets and books which I had put in for filling up, with five copies of my *Primacy*, returned as having been over and above the invoice. I hope Bourliè will succeed in selling the books so as to suffer no loss. In case at any time he desires my works or those of my

brother, or other English works printed here, he may have them in exchange for *Biblia Sacra* and other books for the Seminary. The law no longer gives us privilege to bring them in free of duty, but I had only to pay \$8.50 on the very valuable collection which you sent me. You will present my thanks to Very Revd Dr. Cullen for his kind services on this occasion. I must beg of him to pay out of the funds sent by his brother any expenses that may have occurred to you or to the bookseller.

"The dispensing power which Dr. Cullen obtained for me does not expressly regard cases wherein there is *disparitas cultus*, the want of baptism on one side. The great neglect of this sacrament by sectaries renders this a case of frequent occurrence and the distance of some missionaries presents great difficulty to seeking a dispensation from the Bishop or his Vicar. May I ask you to see if I could be empowered to communicate this faculty to the priests?

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"We are all astonished at the slowness of Rome to approve of our Council. As yet no official confirmation is known to us. It has been said that the See of Albany has been erected, and embraces the whole western district of N. York, so as to leave no room for another See at Buffalo. This would be well, to prevent a dangerous precedent of a translation from a desolate diocese to a flourishing city. In case no action has been taken in reference to Very Revd John Timon, Superior of the Cong. of the Mission, he may be safely recommended for the highest post in question, as he possesses eminent merit. Dr. Barron should get the Coadjutorship of St. Louis, *sine spe successionis*, to give him a home without burdening him with the administration of the diocese in any contingency.

"If no action of the Cogn. has taken place regarding the creation of new metropolitical Sees, perhaps an initiatory step would be sufficient. In case Galveston be declared a See, it might be subjected to the See of N. Orleans.



This would prepare the way for fuller measures in the next Council. If Galveston be not erected, pending the Mexican war, Albany might be made subject to N. York, which as the chief city of the States as regards population and commerce, deserves this distinction. Either measure would shew the will of the Holy See to have a division of our enormous province.

"If one or two devoted priests trained in your College desire to embrace a missionary life in this hemisphere, you may send them at once to me and I will employ them. My Seminary does not yet suffice for my diocess. It will be well to impress them with the necessity of great caution and prudence to shun the rocks. Remember me affectionately to Dr. Cullen and all friends, and believe me

"Yours obliged friend,

"† FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"How delighted I should be if you would come."

"Phil. Epiphany, 1847."

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(Page 54.) BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND :

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"Various reports are in circulation respecting the measures adopted in reference to our last Council, but nothing official has come to my knowledge, save that Monseigneur Bazin is said to have received the notification of his appointment to the See of Vincennes, vacated by the resignation of Bp. De la Hailandière, who however is said to have no official knowledge of his resignation having been accepted.

"My grand Cathedral is progressing slowly through want of funds, but I am not dismayed. On the whole, things wear a good appearance and inspire hope.

"I am preparing another edition of my Primacy, and will be sincerely thankful for any suggestions by which it may be improved.

"Bp. Barron is still living with my brother. I have not heard whether his appointment as Coadjutor sine spe successionis has been approved of. It is reported that the Bishop of Little Rock is not to be translated, which seems to give general satisfaction. If Very Revd J. Timon be appointed bishop of Buffalo, it will delight all; but if he were at Baltimore, it would be still better. The Archbishop has been more than usually active in visiting his diocese, preaching and otherwise fulfilling his official duties with edification and fruit. He is mortified at the reserve of the S. Congn. in his regard.

"Remember me affectionately to Dr. Kirby and all friends. If some very zealous priest wants a mission, direct him to the city of brotherly love. With sincere attachment I remain,

"Your affectionate friend in Xt.,

"FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Aug. 13, 1847."

(Page 55.) BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I beg your special attention for Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, a highly respectable family, the lady a convert to the faith, the gentleman a sincere well-wisher and generous benefactor. I shall regard as a personal favor any attention shewn them during their stay in the Eternal city.

"Your faithful friend,

"FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Sept. 21, 1847."

(Page 56.) BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD MONSIGNORE:—I beg to introduce to your acquaintance the Honble James Cooper, a distinguished citizen of our State, who has been a member of our National Congress. His attention to the interests of the Catholic community deserves our gratitude. Any attention shewn to him will greatly oblige Your faithful friend,

"FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. Oct. 13, 1847."

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(Page 57.) ARCHBISHOP P. R. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"I have presumed so far on your kindness as to enclose you the accompanying document, and hope you will add to the other great obligations I have to you that of obtaining for me the Pallium, which until I receive, I shall be less than I was before my new promotion. You will commit it to the care of any ecclesiastic you may find in Rome, and who may be about to return to this country; unless you should find some of your alumni who would volunteer their services for this distant mission, and whom I would willingly receive. Should the letter arrive in your absence, I beg the Revd Dr. Kirby to consider it as addressed to himself, and therefore have I taken the precaution of sending a document directed to him to be used in this contingency.

"With great sincerity I remain, Very Revd and Dear Sir,

"Yours very truly in Xt.,

"† PETER RICHARD, Abp. elect of St. Louis."

"St. Louis, 20 Nov. 1847."

(Page 58.) PETRUS RICARDUS KENRICK, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia, Archiepiscopus electus Sti. Ludovici, Admodum Revdo Dno Paulo Cullen, Presbytero, S.

"Cum per Breve Summi Pontificis Pii IX feliciter regnantis, die XX mensis Julii hoc anno Romae datum, diocesis Sti Ludovici in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis ad gradum dignitatemque archiepiscopalem evecta fuerit, Nos, qui huc usque titulum Episcopi praedictae dioceseos tulimus, tibi munus Pallii petendi, omniaque quae sacri canones praescribunt faciendi Nostro nomine his praesentibus committimus, cum per rerum adjuncta diu a Nostra Sede abesse non possumus.

"Datum Sti Ludovici, die XX Novembris A. D. 1847.

"† PETRUS RICARDUS, Archiepiscopus electus Sti Lud.

"De mandato Illmi ac Revmi Archiepiscopi electi.

"A. J. HEIM, preb. Secretarius."

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(Page 59.) BISHOP F. P. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"VERY REVD AND DEAR FRIEND:—I beg to introduce to your acquaintance Professor William A. Norton of the Delaware College. He is a gentleman of high scientific attainments and great personal worth, and particularly eminent in the departments of Mathematics and Astronomy. Any attention which your duties may permit you to show him will be regarded as a personal favor by

"Your faithful friend,

"FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bp. Phil."

"Phil. March 10, 1848."

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(Page 60.) ARCHBISHOP P. R. KENRICK TO DR. CULLEN.

"ST. LOUIS, 18th Oct. 1848.

"VERY REVD DEAR SIR:—My long absence from home must be my apology for not sooner acknowledging the receipt of your very kind letter. It was on the 3d of

September that I received the Pallium in Philadelphia, at the hands of my brother. Revd Mr. O'Connor did not arrive in this country before the latter part of August. I need not say how much I feel the obligation I have to you for your kind offices on this occasion, and how happy I shall be to execute any commission for you in this country, should any circumstance call forth such an improbable contingency. My brother has already executed your commission regarding the papers for which you wrote. Here at St. Louis we have not at the present time any Catholic paper, or other periodical publication. Should any such be established here, I shall see that it be regularly forwarded to your address.

"The new Archdiocese of St. Louis is likely to become of considerable importance. The city, now containing 70,000, having doubled its population in the last eight years, appears likely to be in a few years more the largest inland city in the U. States. Its central position encourages the hope that, one day, it will be [the] seat of the Federal Government. The late acquisitions of New Mexico and the upper California present a wide field for our Missioners; as it will be necessary to take immediate measures to save the Catholics of these countries from the snares which sectarian preachers are laying for them, and to afford the large emigration from the United States to those places the means of preserving and practising the religion which they profess.

"It is possible that this will be one of the questions to be treated of in the next Council of Baltimore (next May); and I hope that prompt and energetic action will be had upon it, as delay will be ruinous. It is to be regretted that Chicago has not yet been fulfilled. Father Vandeveld is the person who would best suit that See. I regret to state that your dear friend, Rt. Revd Dr. Barron, is in a very low state of health. He is consumptive, and can scarcely be expected to recover. His physician has ordered him to go to the South, and he appears likely to



act on the suggestion, although we are all filled with apprehension as to the result. Please remember me to V. Revd Dr. Kirby, whom I would very gladly see in St. Louis, and to whom I would give the care of my Seminary, but who I presume loves Rome too much to quit it. Please pray for me and believe me to remain

“Yours very truly in Xt.,

“† PETER RICHARD Archbp of St. Louis.”

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(Page 65.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“LIVERPOOL, 1st October, 1838.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN :—I cannot bring myself to leave this country for good without writing you a line. I need not say much about Maynooth ; you know my feelings. I was preparing to stand even against O'Reilly, not that I had any hopes of succeeding, but, being compromised, I should either stand or retire forever. However it was against my inclination I was doing so. I could easily see that the struggle was to be between O'Reilly and Whitehead, and that almost independently of their relative merits in my opinion I had but little chance. Mr. Kenrick came in on me while I was thus preparing, and having obtained Dr. Crotty's leave, induced me go to Philadelphia, which would not have been difficult though I had more prospects at Maynooth. You know that my mind was made up on the subject ; very little had since occurred that would make it necessary for me to reconsider it, and matters were very soon arranged. I think the leave I got the first time is sufficient. I beg you will explain the matter to the Cardinal, and tell him that I acted on that leave ; and also explain to him the nature of my position regarding Maynooth.

“I have just seen Mrs. Verdon. She desired me to say all your friends here are well. She would have written by Mr. Wood but he did not call. She will write by the

first opportunity by hand. I suppose Mr. Kenrick is in Rome before now, and has explained to you how I acted. I beg you will satisfy the Cardinal on the matter. Tell Mr. K. that the painting I asked him to buy might be one and one-half foot longer than I mentioned, if the design would bear to be hid in the centre for that height and a breadth of about six inches, and that, if he could get a middling fellow to copy a good Crucifixion for about 60 dollars, the nuns would prefer it. Let him then write to them, and they would send him the exact dimensions of the place. Present my respectful compliments to Palma and Kirby, and believe me

“Yours truly,

“M. O'CONNOR.”

“I sail direct for Philadelphia tomorrow.”

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{Page 66.} BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO VERY REVD  
P. R. KENRICK.

“PHILADELPHIA, Corner of Race St. and 5th,

“SKUYLKILL, Sept.-21st, 1839.

“REV DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 26th July reached me a few days ago. The bishop at the same time received a letter of the same date. He had received and answered before that your letter of the 6th of August by the ‘Great Western.’ He desires me to say that you must set aside your whims, and come home as soon as you can. The terms in my mouth may not appear very courteous, but I suppose they are intelligible to you, which is more than they are to me. He tells me to give you this message because in his own answer he spoke without knowing what you meant, not having then received your first letter. As you execute orders so well, you may consider your powers enlarged, and [yourself] fully authorized to send us as many books as you can procure. I think you should

avail yourself of the offer of the Propaganda in getting a good supply of Roman Catechisms and of the Council of Trent. I would suggest also the propriety of getting a collection of Italian sermons. I would be glad to have Rosmini's works in the library, Zucchi's Scripture lessons ; and I never will be easy until I have access to a copy of Suarez's works. If you could get them entire I think they would be a valuable accession to our collection. I think Dr. Cullen may remember the works of any value that I have ; it would be useless to procure second copies of them, as they will remain here of course, whatever turn things take with regard to myself. I have A Lapide, Martene, N. Alex., Tournelly, good copies, and some other heavy works.

"We are getting on pretty well in the Seminary. Trusting to the original treasury on which it relied, (divine providence,) we have enlarged our numbers and have now 18 Seminarians. Devitt, Gilligan, Donohue were ordained priests this morning by your brother ; bishop Flaget had ordained them deacons last Sunday. The bishop perhaps did not tell you that he was obliged to put himself into the hands of the doctors lately on account of an attack of hernia, which he had been long laboring under without a distinct knowledge of the nature of the disease. It will interfere considerably with those exertions which require great bodily labor for the remainder of his life. However, thank God, it is not as bad as was first anticipated. In every other respect all is well here.

"Dr. Moriarty is the great lion of Philadelphia at present. Many pronounced him the greatest pulpit orator that ever appeared in the United States. Let us hope that he will retain and make good use of his fame. The two O'Donnells are in New York. They got for their Order the Church where Mr. Waters was. \* \* \* Troops of Missionaries are passing in batches for the West. Three or four detachments have already passed through. Another reinforcement arrived here last evening destined for Vincennes.

Bishops Hillandiere and Jeanson\* are daily expected. When bishop Jeanson opens his battery on the natives, they surely will proclaim that there is some design on the liberties of the Valley of the Mississippi. Alexander McDonald is here, this time back with Steinbacher. He is waiting for his books. They arrived here a few weeks ago, after having thrown poor Eugene McEachern overboard. I am anxiously awaiting Balfe's arrival to get some assistance in the Seminary, being almost *solus* in the discharge of all the duties of the same. His arrival and the late ordinations will take some out-door work off my hands, which was interfering with my attention to the Seminary.

"I hope we will have Mass in our Fairmount church before you return, even though you hasten home. They will begin putting on the roof next week. I promised it should be ready for St. Francis' day, and I suppose we will have Mass in it on that day at least no matter what condition its interior may be in. A fine congregation is collecting at Norristown. I look upon it as a much better one than Manayunk; the church is larger a good deal and is already full. I find in going about Chester Co. and Montgomery that other churches could be got up and would be filled, but where is the use when there are not priests? Hurrah then for the Seminary! I think that if the Propaganda were really convinced that every good priest we make can make a congregation, and that every congregation thus made may be considered as so many rescued from perdition, at least for a good while they would strengthen us.

"Mr. Mulholland says that the opening of Norristown church has not relieved him in the least; therefore most of its present members never went to church. When I went there I found that numbers of Catholics were in the habit of sending their children to Protestant Sunday

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\* Bishop of Nancy, France.

schools, intending to undeceive them when they would grow up ; and I met many Catholics who declared themselves such since the church was opened, who were not known as Catholics even by their own families. Money given here to enable the bishop to bring the aids of Religion within the reach of such people, and to preserve thousands who are going astray for want of them, would be much better spent than in many other ways. They have been calling for churches in other places higher up since N. has been opened. The bishop says that in several places west of the Alleghanies, which he visited this last time, large congregations could be formed if he had priests to send there.

“Excuse this scroll which I write in a hurry. Give my compliments to Dr. Cullen and Dr. Kirby. Alexander MacDonald has not as yet written to the Propaganda. We are keeping him here waiting for his books but much more on account of a heavy cold which he says he had before he left Italy from which he has not yet recovered ; and *entre nous* I really am beginning to apprehend that there is some danger of consumption. When this is told them *in confidenza* they will not be angry at his stay here.

“ I remain yours truly,

“ M. O’CONNOR.”

“ As the bishop seems to wish you would return, and as you consent to come to the Seminary, allow me to press you to return as soon as is consistent with your convenience and your other affairs. As he himself is not able to come to teach, all the important classes are in my hands ; and without affecting humility I need not add that they cannot all be properly attended to. I do not know how far Balfe may be of assistance, or how long he can leave him here. In any case, if you were here we might manage things much better, without taking into consideration the assistance you would be to it in a pecuniary point of view ;



for I apprehend that without some person well known in the city being connected with the Seminary, the ardor of the public in supporting it may abate : especially since the students are withdrawn from St. Mary's, and the hopes which many entertained of its being united with a college have vanished. I would not press it or interfere at all, as I would not wish to interfere in your choice. I considered your identifying yourself with the Seminary too good a thing to calculate upon, but as you are determined, the sooner it is convenient the better. Compliments to Palma."

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(Page 67.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO V. REVD P. R. KENRICK.

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 23, 1839.

"DEAR MR. KENRICK:—Though I intended writing to you by the last packet, I deferred it even this time to the last moment, but what I intend saying is of so much importance, that I would not wish to defer it a day longer, even though this must be written in the greatest hurry.

"I was not aware of the import of the message I communicated in my last from the bishop. He told me afterwards that he himself wrote by the same mail. I have learned it since and, I must say, with dismay. I assure you that under ordinary circumstances I would be far from dissuading you from your pious design ; and even now I would not venture to urge any reason that I would not think capable of standing the most strict scrutiny of any one fresh from the third, aye even the fourth, week of the exercises of St. Ignatius. Your absence would create a vacuum in the diocess which I think, even on the most sublime principles of perfection, should prevent you from abandoning the field. Talking of these things under other circumstances with the same freedom might deserve

much blame, but for such a purpose it cannot but be justifiable.

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“As to myself, I have been much underrated and over-rated by my friends and my enemies, though I am not going to make a general confession at present. I may safely say that perhaps in information or sense I have something in or about what is required for an average man on the mission. In piety, I am sure a good deal below par, though perhaps I have not humility enough to say that I am exactly the greatest sinner in the world. The above, I think, is as good an account of me as you could get. Dr. Cullen I am sure will say that it is not very far from the truth. Now, as for being of any assistance to the bishop, it is of course out of the question; but in the Seminary, though I might be of some use, I assure you I am totally unfit to occupy in it the position I hold. I might be well enough on the mission, at least passably; I might teach a class or two in the Seminary, but a man of more sterling piety is required to give a spirit to the young men such as should be given. They are going back daily in that respect. I feel it, there is no use in my talking about it to the bishop, for I see he cannot do anything. I feel that I must blame myself. I am making resolutions to get better, but 'tis the same old story over again, and whatever my resolutions or intentions may be, I know it won't improve much. I know I would say that of another situated as I am, and of course I must say the same of myself. Barron was talking of exchanging, but he would be unsuited in another respect; he is not rogue enough for them. Could we be both here together we might do very well. He would have the piety, I the roguery, and we might get along. He could not be spared. The fact is I fear very much for the Seminary. Another thing which renders me unsuitable is that I never could succeed in being popular wherever I was, even in my best of moments,

and here the case is the same. Now unless some person, popular in the city, is in the Seminary, down it goes ; even the priests are very easy about the way it gets along ; it is only the excitement which yet lives but is every day fading that brings in contributions.

" Now in the name of God, with the Seminary in such danger, with the city and the diocess so abandoned, can it be the will of God that you would retire from a field where He blessed your labors and gave clear proof that you were doing His will ? I am sure that you calculated on the state of the diocess, and you took up positions which were false. You will leave the bishop literally without aid, and many most important posts unoccupied or worse. I know that in general such arguments have no weight on such a topic ; but I assure you that I know of some cases where similar ones, nay even much less strong, have weighed so strong with most prudent Jesuits as to have induced them to advise the course I would now advise to you :—to remain in the field where God blessed your labors and where you were certain you were right.

" The Bishop might not wish me to write at all. His opinion should weigh something with you. You know he is above dissuading you from any course for motives which he would not think would stand good before heaven, and his opinion in such matters especially is good. He is I assure you decidedly opposed, nay angry with you for thinking of it. He almost regrets having written at all as he did, and Dr. Barron is decidedly of the same opinion.

" Yours truly,

" M. O'CONNOR."

" DEAR DR. CULLEN :—If Mr. Kenrick has entered the Jesuits destroy this. If not, give it to him and impress its contents on him. It would be a most foolish thing for him to abandon Philadelphia ; the diocess will suffer very severely. All right here. Compliments to all friends.

" M. O'CONNOR"

(Page 68.) BISHOP JAMES BROWNE TO DR. CULLEN.

“COOTEHILL, Nov. 20th, 1841.

“MY DEAR DOCTOR:—Had I been punctual, this letter would have been handed to you by my good friend, the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, Pastor of Pittsburgh in America. You will probably have seen him before you shall receive this, and it is therefore quite superfluous to introduce him to you. His conduct and virtues have edified us very much in this neighborhood, and we were inclined to wish him promotion to higher dignities and more extensive labours, if the American mission should require such. I am sure he will not be less esteemed by you when you are assured of the sincere regard we entertain for him in the diocesis of Kilmore.

“JAMES BROWNE.”

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(Page 69.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“PITTSBURG, U. S. A. Jan. 10th, 1842.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN:—I don't know how far you are acquainted with my fate since I had the pleasure of writing to you last. I am now pastor in this city and Vicar general, if you please, of the diocesis of Philadelphia.

“Of course you are aware of the mission of our good friend, Dr. Barron. He went off to Liberia really like an apostle.

“Whether he lives or whether he dies, we can really look to him henceforward in no other light than as a great deal more than half a saint. I fear the poor man will hardly stand the climate and toils before him; but his course is clear and the end of it fixed. Though 300 miles from Philadelphia I could not resist the temptation to go to see him before his departure; to take, I suppose, a last leave of one I esteemed so much, and to whom I was under so many obligations. Before leaving he remonstrated with me for not writing to you and endeavoring to keep up a correspondence. I told him there were two sides to that

question, and though he could easily persuade me to write often, he could hardly make such writing a correspondence unless by the luxury of an Irish bull, which I suppose we renounced the right to use when we set foot on the shores of the new world. Try it however I would, though I apprehend a similar fate as on former occasions ;—an issue of which I must say what I said before, that I received too many proofs of your kindness to be able to put any but a favorable construction on anything you shall ever do again in my regard.

“ With the pleasure of seeing our friend I united, by my visit to Philadelphia, the pleasure of assisting at the consecration of Bp. Peter, and then accompanying him not only to our city, which was on his way, but 100 miles more down the Ohio. I would have gone with him to St. Louis but for the approach of Christmas which made my presence necessary at home. For as you are already aware, there is something in the climate of this country which makes us think nothing of a run of one or two thousand miles. You may commonly meet a man one day and meet him again in three or four weeks, and perhaps only incidentally hear him remark that since your last interview he had been in some place or other a couple of thousand miles off.

“ You probably will have made the acquaintance of my predecessor here before this reaches you, and from him have learned as much as you desire to know of this city and the country about. For your information it may be no harm for you to know that he left this *cum bona venia Episcopi* and for very weighty reasons. He goes to be a Jesuit. May he persevere. Dr. Barron sailed for his mission on the 21st ultimo. Dr. Rosati is now in Philadelphia and expects daily to start for Hayti.

“ Would you candidly let me know your opinion regarding our Temperance movement, and also what the opinion of the great ones in Rome is of it, if possible that of his Holiness? Our success has hitherto been great. We have established it on a more religious basis than it is in



Ireland. The pledge is administered generally before the altar. We profess to regard it as a religious act, and though we cannot refuse to give it to some Protestants who come publicly for it in the crowd, we have declined all official connection with Protestant societies. It was glorious to see the procession in Philadelphia last 4th of July. The banners of S. Patrick, S. Augustine, S. Michael, S. Francis Xav. &c. with the Madonna and Bambino in front, and above all the great Cross, borne by the societies of the respective churches of these saints, reminded people of the processions of Rome. However these shows are hardly prudent here, the bishop does not admire them. I only mention them as instance of the Catholic character the Temperance societies have assumed here. Immense good has been effected. What is thought of the whole affair at Rome? For though many things happen which make no great noise there, they can hardly be ignorant of the Irish movement.

"Bp. Kenrick desires me to ask you about Costello. His father has made frequent inquiries for him. \* \* \* I wrote several months ago to the Cardinal in fulfilment of the oath of Propaganda and have received no answer. If they require us to be so particular about writing, they should write themselves also.

"Mr. McMahon passed through this a few days ago. I heard from Spalding not long ago, and of Lancaster. They are well. Will you give my most affectionate compliments to Palma, also to Finucci. Very few other Italians, I suppose, recollect me. Present my compliments also to Dr. Kirby. Is there any one else I know at Rome? If there be, give him my compliments or respects, for certainly I will never forget the Eternal city, though I am beginning to forget many details, which propensity is much aided by the conviction that in the minds of all there I am dead and forgotten. I remain, dear friend,

"Yours most sincerely,

"M. O'CONNOR."

(Page 70.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

" PITTSBURG, PA., U. S. A. June 17, 1842.

" DEAR DR. CULLEN :—Though I had resolved to write a long letter this time back, business prevented me from attending to it, and I am now forced to dash it off as it comes in the hope of getting it off by the same packet which conveys a letter from the bishop to Cardinal Frasoni. He was kind enough to write asking for a place in Propaganda for my brother James. As O'Hara leaves Propaganda this year the thing may not be difficult, but I did not like to let the matter run any risk that I could avoid, and I take the liberty of soliciting your interposition. If you and Palma back the bishop there is no doubt of the application being successful. My brother resided for about two years and a half in our Seminary in Philadelphia, and gave the most perfect satisfaction for his attention to, and success in, his studies, as well as for his exemplary conduct. Last year he wavered in his vocation, and to the surprise of all left the Seminary ; but all expected that he would return to his first love. The bishop told him that he would be gladly received back again whenever he would apply. I was making arrangements to prepare him for some secular employment, when to my great astonishment he declared his renewed determination to become a priest. Since that I have subjected him to the severest trials to test the sincerity, and prove the stability, of his resolution, and he has given the fullest satisfaction. Though his hesitation has put me to serious inconvenience I hardly regret it, as it might have taken place at a more dangerous moment. As it is, it will only be a sure guarantee against anything of the kind in future. He is now eighteen years of age, he has almost completed a course of classics, would be fit, I think, at least for the Rhetoric class in Propaganda ; his class-fellows in Philadelphia have been reading Logic since last August. I have no doubt but that he will repay the attention paid to him in Propaganda. I had intended all along applying

for a place for him, as I thought he would not disgrace the 'Alma Mater;' though if nothing had interfered I would have preferred sending him after completing his Philosophical course in this country. Under the circumstances I do not like to ask him to return to the Philadelphia Seminary, and I would not wish to have him educated in any of our other Seminaries in this country. I think he might be received in the Propaganda as a subject of this diocese; but if his connection with me would facilitate it, I will feel much indebted to the Cardinal and to you, as well as to my friend Palma, if you have the kindness to urge the matter.

"I thank you for your kind offer to execute any commissions. I have no immediate order at the moment; but I would feel indebted if you would be kind enough to inquire for what sum we might expect to get some pictures for our church here. We have a splendid building here as far as the shell of it is concerned, but entirely void of paintings. I have an idea of procuring paintings of the Apostles to hang up between the windows. They could be copies of some of the good ones in Rome. The figures should be about 8 or 9 feet high, the canvass accordingly, as they would be placed about 25 feet high. They need not be finished so very exquisitely. What do you think they could be got for apiece? We would want all the Apostles, and two or three other paintings of similar dimensions, to fill up all our vacant spaces. Copied by a middling artist they ought not to cost very much at Rome. If I knew the expense of getting them painted, I would look around and see whether we may not be able to raise the money. Please also to let me know what we might be able to get fair Stations of the Cross for, each being about 4 feet by 5. Would you be kind enough to give me information on this point as soon as possible? By return of post I may send an order for something.

"I gave a letter of introduction to a Dr. Snyder of this city, a Protestant young man but who was educated at

Emmitsburg. I am not acquainted with himself, but his father is one of the leading men in this city. If you could show him any mark of kindness you would much oblige me. A favour of the kind would be remembered by his family and they could be of great advantage to Religion. We find it necessary to make friends of as many as we can of the liberal Protestants to protect us from the bigots who swarm here, who if they could would devour us. If you introduced him to the Pope, to Mezzofanti &c., I would be amply repaid for your kindness. Will you please tell Grant that I gave him another letter to him, and explain to him what I now state, though I expect to write to Grant myself before long.

"I can add nothing to what you have undoubtedly seen by the papers regarding the death of poor Dr. England. It came on us like a thunderbolt. His place cannot be easily filled.

"Dr. Barron, as you will know ere this reaches you, is back from Liberia. One of my reasons for delaying to write to you was waiting to have an account from him, when lo, the first news of his arrival in Africa is brought back by himself. He returns, it appears, for the purpose of procuring assistance and intends visiting France &c. Probably he may call down to Rome before he returns. His health, I am told, is improved. I regret having missed seeing him in Philadelphia. I had left the city only two days before he arrived there.

"We had a Synod there, of which you will see the proceedings before long. It is most consoling to witness the gratifying proofs of the good spirit that is pervading the whole body of the clergy and people, emanating from the hierarchy and spreading through the whole mass. Would to God that such a spirit could be set going amongst the Irish Clergy. It would be productive of other fruits than the Repeal of the Union or the abolition of tithes. I hope great things for our infant church, though we have appalling evils to contend with, and are forced daily to witness



the apostacy of our brethren. Yet we are making strides and stemming the torrent. Those that are now [being] lost are not a tithe of those that were lost some years ago. The period is not far distant when our means will be able to contend with the evils that surround us. As for Tiraboschi, I give the fee simple of it to your library.

"I need not say how happy I am to learn that you are succeeding so well. I hope your students will do great good in Ireland. Maynooth as well as I can understand, is now managed with a very good spirit. But the young men that go out from it are soon absorbed in the vortex and moulded on the old cast before they come to have any influence. I must say that I think the bishops as far as my experience goes, are much in fault. The two in Cork are good men but they are little more than ciphers. If half the pains were taken by them to create and keep alive a true ecclesiastical spirit that are taken by the good bishops in this country, with the materials they have, Ireland would be herself again. \* \* \*

"You will present my most respectful compliments to Palma. Engage him warmly in the affair of my brother. Thank him for me in anticipation and believe me

"Yours sincerely,

"M. O'CONNOR."

"Keep to yourself anything I say of Ireland. Mr. O'Sullivan is a truly good exemplary priest. Were there a few more such ones in Cork, it would be another place, but the best priests in Ireland hardly like to hear anything said that is not in praise of the clergy."

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(Page 71.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

"DEC. 16, 1842.

"DEAR DR. CULLEN:—I have time only to write a few words. My brother is starting in a hurry. I could not let him go however, without giving him a line to you,



hoping that you will extend to him the same kindness of which I have received so many proofs. As he can tell you all about this place the shortness of the letter afflicts. You must remember however that you are in my debt in the way of letters, as your representative has not fulfilled the burden that I had attempted to place upon you.

“What a nice joke that the trap, into which you were so near falling some years ago, was so near catching me. For the secrets of the Roman movements about Charleston have leaked out. I am determined, however to kick against it as lustily as you did. I hope it may be with the same success. I hope you will have the kindness to let me know the history of this affair. The only part of it which I cannot see through is the *nature* of the letter to the Archbishop of Baltimore, and the *nature* of his reply.

“I remain Yours truly,

“M. O'CONNOR.”

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(Page 72.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“MARSEILLES, Sept. 1st, 1843.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN:—We arrived here last evening after a very pleasant passage. I met Bishop Rosati here with Signor Ugo, and avail myself of their kindness to forward a few lines.

“I can hardly tell you how many things occurred to me on the way which I forgot saying before I left. One of the important ones was to ask your advice in detail as to the best plan of making my arrangements in Ireland with the various persons who have institutions for foreign missions. Most of those whom I shall meet in Ireland, whose opinion I could respect, are more or less compromised for some of the institutions. You would confer a great favour by giv-

ing me your opinion and advice as much in detail as possible.

"I hope you will gather together the few books I left in the room, and send them with the things from Propaganda through Leghorn. There is an American vessel leaving Leghorn for N. York on the 15th. It would be very desirable if they could go with her. I am told that Pate Bros. are the best persons to consign them to in Leghorn. Let them be forwarded then to M. A. Frenaye, Philadelphia. Besides the books left and to be got, look out for a Madame Starke belonging to me which is somewhere about the house. Try and complete the Monacelli, purchase for me Dmowsky's Philosophy, ten copies, Morichini Charities of Rome, Evasio Leone Elogi Sacri, Pontificale small edition, Life of St. Francis of Sales by Gallitia, three copies of the little course of Scripture used in Propaganda, and any other books you may deem advisable. I got the catalogue of my books copied off that you may be able to know what books I have, and while I would request you to make any purchase for me which you deem advisable, you may not be procuring duplicates of what I have already.

"Mr. Hughes did not give me the letter of introduction to Carlow. Could you send it to me to your Brother's? Please request Mr. Hughes to write me a line himself letting me know the result of his letter to Carlow. Will you have the kindness to do the same regarding the application to the Christian Brothers and to the Sisters of Mercy? I should like to have an account of the result of both before I go to Ireland. Direct either to the care of Dr. Griffiths, Golden Square, London, or to your brother. I forgot to ask you to have the kindness to recommend me to some one in England or Ireland, by whose assistance I could borrow a little money, if I found it necessary to pay travelling expenses for some priests I may get. Of course I would not ask anything but what I could repay very soon, nor would I want it at all, if I get any assistance

this time from Lyons. I forgot to pay for the use of the carriage I had for the last three or four days. Please pay it and charge.

"Compliments to Palma, Ab. Melia, Dr. Kirby, Mr. Hughes &c. I hope you will have the kindness to write to me as soon as possible. I shall be anxious to know the result of the American nominations. I find that Dr. Rosati, if consulted, will repeat his former recommendation of Mr. Quarter and Mr. Byrne's nomination set aside.

"I remain, Dear Dr. Cullen,

"Yours sincerely,

"M. O'CONNOR."

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(Page 73.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

"DEAR DR. CULLEN:—Allow me to introduce to you the Revd Thomas Heyden, with whose name you are already familiar. You will find him a most worthy and well informed clergyman and the perfect gentlemen. His labours on the mission for many years have been attended with the most ample success, and have earned for him the esteem and love of all with whom he came in contact. He goes to Europe principally for the purpose of admiring the institutions of our Holy Religion in the Capital of the Christian World. Though his absence will be missed very much, we cannot grudge him this holy gratification after the toil of so many years. I will anxiously look forward to the time of his return, and will consider as a special favor every act of kindness which he shall receive from you or your worthy co-labourers in the Irish College.

"I remain, dear Dr. Cullen,

"Your sincere friend in Xt.,

"† M. O'CONNOR, Bishop of Pittsburgh."

"Pittsburgh, June 20, 1844."

(Page 74.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

"PITTSBURGH, August 27, 1844.

"DEAR DR. CULLEN:—I have been so long putting it off from week to week to write to you for the purpose of writing you a long letter, that I have come to the conclusion at least to get off one of business in the meantime, and write you a long one then at leisure. You can form some idea of the distracting character of my occupations, if you would only put a multiplier of 3, 4, or some higher number before your own.

"To go to business then at once, what on earth has become of my things? I have not heard a word of them from anybody. Wilson got a letter from some one in the College a few days ago in which he is told that his books left four or five months ago. He has not heard a word about them yet. Is there any chance that all together they have gone diving? Please send them as soon as possible, directed to M. A. Frenaye, St. John's Church, 13th St. Philadelphia, for me.

"I have written to Mr. Choiselat-Gallien, No. 8 Rue Pot de Fer at Paris, to pay you over whatever you ask him on my account. He is Secretary of the Association de la Propagation de la Foi. The allocation must be made before now. Write to him letting him know how much you intend drawing on him; whatever I get from them will no doubt be more than enough to meet your bill on me. Let me know if you please for how many francs you draw, so that I may know the exact balance I must draw for.

"The foregoing includes, I believe, all the business of immediate importance that I have to write about, except, now that I recollect it, try and get your cousin to come out to join us. His sister here is very anxious that he would, and so am I. I enter on no other details lest I should delay these things any longer. Wilson is well. The Sisters of Mercy are well and doing well and promis-

ing to do better. I am getting on well enough myself. Give my compliments to all. I give you a carte blanche on which put whom you please, but don't omit Father Maher, Kirby, Ab. Palma, \* \* \*

"Yours sincerely in Xt.,

"† M. O'CONNOR, Bishop of Pittsburgh."

"Very Revd Dr. Cullen, V. G."

"You must set a true value on your Vicar Generalship as you share the honour only with Dr. Kenrick.

"Of course you will present my kind respects to Mr. Heyden if he be with you. He is gone to Europe, but I cannot find out whether he went direct to Ireland or to Rome. Variant auctores. He is a relation of yours, or at least there are many family connections; but at any rate he is a neighbour of yours and what is far better, a most worthy priest. If not yet arrived, I would beg leave to recommend him to your kindest attention; you will be happy in knowing him.

"† M. O'C."

(Page 75.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

"DEAR DR. CULLEN:—Here I am again writing in a hurry. I have been putting off writing from day to day, until at last the hour is approaching which will be the last to overtake the mail steamer of the 1st of next month. I am anxious that my letter should reach you as soon as possible for the purpose mentioned below.

"In your last you spoke of not having yet sent the box containing the relics. If you have not sent it already, please keep it until you can find some person who will bring it with him. So long a time has now elapsed since my own arrival that it would be impossible to get it passed through the Custom-house as my baggage that came by another route, and I need not tell you how unpleasant it would be to have a box of the kind opened and examined



by a parcel of ruffianly Custom-house officers, especially when I would not be on the spot myself. Mr. Heyden or some of the Propaganda students might take charge of it, and even if there be delay it is better than sacrilegious profanation.

“Bp. De la Heillandière of Vincennes, passed through this place last Sunday on his way to Rome. He may be kind enough to take charge of the box on his return, if no earlier opportunity should offer, though I forgot asking him when here.

“I hope your draft on Mr. Choiselat has been honored. I find that they have made me an appropriation that will meet it fully. I feared from your letter that you would have drawn on him without first obtaining his sanction, but from the letter just received I hope that even so he will not disappoint you. Henceforth, as I expect they will generally allow me something in France each year, I will be able to meet any expenses you may incur for me. From this out I will have to act on the principle of cutting my cloth to my measure ; or in other words, incur only such expenses as I will be able to meet. The many things that it was necessary to undertake in the beginning made me spread out a little more extensively than was convenient at the time.

“I think I understood from you that Molony was about going on the mission. Now, why would he not come here ? I have a place where I want him, or a man like him very badly, because I look upon him as a man of devotedness. Others really are better at home. Unless a man comes to this country willing to do little or much, and to turn himself to anything or everything, he is really in the way. Where things are just growing into existence there must be so many windings and twistings to keep on with them, that if of too much stiffness in his regularity, he finds himself jostled about and knocked up and down, much to his discomfiture ; or lying by half useless if he will move only along one straight line.

"You may guess that these remarks are elicited in *some* measure, though *only* in some measure, by Wilson's career. He was entirely too soft to take charge of young men, some of whom were older than himself. We managed to get on the best way we could for some time, but finally he gave up. He became very anxious to be entirely to himself and to get rid of all charge of students. He is on the mission at present and doing very well. I hope he will succeed very well in his new situation, especially as he is pleased with it. His trip to Ireland injured him a good deal. It gave a bend to his course which was very injurious in the end. I do not mean to insinuate at all that he did, or that I apprehend, anything wrong, but the tossing about in Ireland formed a strange medley of character when compounded with the movements of a Roman education. Any disappointment, if disappointment it can be called, with regard to Wilson should not deter Molony. It would only prove at most that it is hard for a man to come to America with any definite destination in view, making that a *sine qua non*. Indeed I would say that I would not wish anyone to come with any such feelings. But a man who will turn himself to anything that he may be deemed fit for and where he may be useful, will find abundance to do and much good to accomplish. Wilson is, I believe, very happy now and likely to be very useful, though not exactly in the place where he expected to be.

"I am forced to try and get Lazarists for the Seminary. I wrote to New York about our boxes when I received your letter. I got no answer as yet. We had not heard a word about them until I received your letter from Tivoli. I feel uneasy, particularly about Wilson's, which was so long on the way.

"I am told that Dr. Haly is now in Rome. It was mentioned in a letter to the Nuns, but in a way that I do not feel certain about it. I intended writing to him to ask him for a place or two in the foreign mission estab-

lishment in Carlow. If he be in Rome I hope you will have the kindness to ask him for me. I would write to him myself but I do not know for certain his 'whereabouts.' I will feel much indebted by his granting this favour. I think he almost said he would give them. I have requested Mr. Hughes to have them occupied as soon as granted. Present my compliments to Mr. Kirby, to Mr. Maher, &c &c. All your friends here are well, nuns and all. Yours sincerely in Christ,

"† M. O'CONNOR, Bp. Pittsburgh."

"You can appreciate our position here pretty well from our paper if you think it worth reading. Why do you not write us some communications for it? Would it not be an interesting exercise to direct some of your best students to write some pieces descriptive of various objects and institutions in Rome and send us some of the best ones? A pamphlet or interesting number of the 'Diaries,' if such a thing is ever seen, would be most acceptable. Would Abbate de Luca exchange with us: we to send him our paper, he to send us his *Annali*? Let him send it on."

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(Page 76.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO JAMES O'CONNOR.

"LIVERPOOL, Nov. 19, 1845.

"DEAR JAMES:—I snatch a moment to write you a few lines before I go. I received only your letter of the 24th Oct. You must do everything in your power to keep Backhaus for us. It will be impossible for me to get up the Seminary without calculating on him. I did not seek others as I might have done. Speak to himself, to the Cardinal, to Palma, to every one about it.

"Try to get them at the Propaganda to order something for us this winter from Munich. The expenses of

nuns, brothers, students &c. exceed by about \$1.500 what I got at Vienna &c. There is no fair play for us at Lyons.

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“Your affectionate brother,  
“M. O’CONNOR, Bp. Pittsb.”

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(PAGE 77.) BISHOP M. O’CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“WARREN, PA. July 15, 1846.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN:

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“We have just heard of the death of the Pope. Being beyond the pale of civilization I have not heard of any of the particulars. I can only say: God protect the Church and give it as good a head as it had in Gregory. Were it not for the ‘portae inferi &c.’ the accounts we receive would make us tremble for Rome.

“At our late Council at Baltimore very little was done. It is a lamentable thing that here as elsewhere, with so many enemies around us, we are unable to take any vigorous measure to improve our condition or indeed to preserve what we have. Everything, however, went on harmoniously. Anything and everything suggested was sure to meet with the concurrence of few or many, so that harmoniously we all agreed to let everyone do as he pleased, and do nothing together.

“Present my compliments to Dr. Kirby, and believe me

“Yours in Christ,

“† M. O’CONNOR, Bp. Pittsb.”

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(Page 78.) BISHOP M. O’CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN:—This will be handed you by Mr. Simpson, a very worthy Protestant gentleman of this city, who intends making the tour of the continent of

Europe. I beg leave to introduce him and to request that you will do any kind act you can for him that will make his visit to the Eternal city more agreeable. He no doubt will be anxious to visit his Holiness. I do not know whether you will find it as easy to be useful to your friends in that respect now as you could under the late reign. I am sure that if you can you will do so for Mr. Simpson. That, or any other act of kindness you will show him or his family, will much oblige

“Yours faithfully,

“† M. O'CONNOR, Bp. Pittsb.”

“Pittsburgh, Sept. 16, 1846.”

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(Page 79.) BISHOP M. O'CONNOR TO DR. CULLEN.

“PITTSBURGH, Aug. 20, 1847.

“DEAR DR. CULLEN:—James mentioned in his last that you were surprised that I did not write to you. Now unless the Post Office department at one side or the other of the Atlantic is more negligent in its duties than I can believe possible, a moment's reflection would enable you to explain this.

“I thought however that I would write you a few lines immediately on a subject that gives myself and others some uneasiness. We are all here no little surprised at having received no official account whatsoever of the action of the Holy See on the business transacted at our last Provincial Council. Unofficial reports have been published in the papers, some of which appear to be confirmed by semiofficial accounts. The silence appears so inexplicable that I really think the documents must have been lost on the way.

“You will not take it amiss that I gave some of the views entertained here of the reported action of the Holy



See. The erection of an Archbishopric at St. Louis will, I believe, be felt very sorely in several quarters. For my part, though I was one of those opposed to the erection of any more Archbishoprics, I do not care one pin if they erect a dozen of them; but the bishops, I believe, will very generally feel that their insignificance is thrust upon them in too painful a manner if, after the question having been referred to them, their decision is immediately reversed. The Archbishop of Baltimore is, I am told, very much hurt. Bp. Kenrick was anxious for the measure, principally, I believe, out of respect to Card. Fransoni's wish expressed to him. We had reason to believe that the motives why some of the Cardinals wished for this measure, were their opinion that we were too compact a body. The next time the question is brought up I think I will vote for it, but for the very opposite reason. I think we may as well despair of uniting for any purpose good or bad that would compensate for the trouble and expense of going to Baltimore.

"The other measures of the Council said to be reversed rather give general satisfaction. In voting for the quasi-suppression of the See of Little Rock, most of those in favor of the measure were influenced more by pity for the bishop than by anything else. I was one of the number, and in common with others who voted the same way, I would be glad now that our recommendation were not acted on. Other recommendations are said to have undergone a very serious change; but God forbid that even our feelings should lead us to expect that Rome shall become but a recording office. The confidence in its wisdom is a great relief under the heavy responsibility implied in the action adopted at the Council, and one that we look to more for its effect in correcting hasty or unsound legislation than in giving force to any other. The Little Rock affair was proposed, settled &c. I suppose in a half hour at most, without any notice whatever of the motion having been given.

"I have made these remarks on the general business of the late Council, though they may be of no practical consequence.

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"Other matters appear to go on well enough with us here. The Sisters of Mercy, and among them Sister Josephine, are well. One of the Misses Strange died lately. Her death was a happy one, and though little expected at the moment she had been for some time ill.

"Please presents my respects to Father Kirby and any others of my acquaintance that may yet remain at the Irish College.

"Believe me, dear Dr. Cullen,

"Yours faithfully in Xt.,

"† M. O'CONNOR, Bp. Pittsb."

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(Page 80.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

"St. Mary's Church, PHILADELPHIA, U. S. A.

"Oct. 7th, 1839.

"DEAR PAUL:

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"How are you all in Rome? Does Peter<sup>1</sup> mean to take up his permanent residence in Rome? Have you communicated to him your own love of letter-writing? Some complain of your want of attention to visitors, but we all here disagreed with this young gentleman.

"The two bishops of Bardstown and Cincinnati have passed through this city on their way to their dioceses, the former having a few missionary subjects and three females for a religious house; the latter had with him several missionaries, and both plenty of money &c. The bishop of Vincennes is daily expected. He has sent before him about 14 missionaries, some of them priests,

others students ; not one of them speaks English, though the country is almost entirely English, with some German colonies, and I think the French are very few.

“ Report says that Monseigneur Jeanson, bishop of Nancy, is about to make a tour through the U. S. and to come on with Bishop de la Hailandière of Vincennes. Words can scarcely convey the remotest idea of the sanctity, of the zeal, or of the learning, of the just deceased bishop of Vincennes. I remember hearing from Dr. Kenrick about a year past or even more these words,—that he considered him a living proof of the truth of our holy religion. He was deemed a prodigy of learning, and with that was the humblest of men.

“ Here we have plenty to do ; but in the cities matters go on pretty much as in Europe, and with a vast deal more decorum in ecclesiastical matters than in Ireland. But we are deplorably situated in respect to our poor young lads. They obtain their education entirely in the public schools, from which, however, generally all religious instruction is excluded, excepting the reading of the Bible. To us they do not come, save a small number on Sunday to catechism.

“ Our Seminary is improving. Dr. O’C. is a great treasure in it. Three young natives are admitted into it, but 2 of them were born in the land of Erin. Three have been lately ordained, rather prematurely, in order to supply places in great distress. Some deaths have occurred without benefit of clergy. Great prejudice prevails here. Ex. gr., a poor Irish sailor was in imminent danger of death last night in an hotel, and his faithful companion in spite of all the family declared that he would get either the priest or the minister for him. With that he called out to his friend, named Carr : ‘ Carr, will you have the priest or the minister ? ’ He nodded Yes. ‘ But which will you have ? If you want the priest make the sign of the Cross.’ The poor sick man who could scarcely speak, made the sign of the Cross. Then the young sailor made

a rout and, I believed, threatened exposure. I was then called and instantly I went. I heard his confession, anointed him, and returning again in two hours he was dead. Requiescat in pace. A similar attempt was made to prevent a poor Italian from receiving the visit of the priest, but it also was frustrated. They are prejudiced, but they pride themselves on Liberty of Conscience.

“There is some talk that Rev. J. F. Dunn, who edits our *Catholic Herald*, will go to assist Dr. Miles in the new diocese of Nashville, Tennessee. This would be a great loss, but God’s will be done. Dr. Kenrick’s health was some time since threatened, but he is well and better than he has been for years. About 100 pages of the second vol. of his *Theology* are printed. He is the most indefatigable man I perhaps ever knew. Dr. O’C. sometimes complains of his chest. Mr. Carter is well. I fear poor Alexander McDonald, who has been here for some time on his way from the Propaganda, Rome, that his health is not good. I fear for his chest. Steinbacher is well and a most promising man.

“Farewell, my dear Paul. Remember me to all ; to Peter, Kirby, Wilson and to all acquaintances. Tell Wilson to write to me. I am astonishingly well, and am yours in Christ.

“EDWARD BARRON.”

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(Page 81.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

“MY DEAREST FRIEND :—I wrote a letter a few days since to the Cardinal Prefect informing him of the grant of 54.000 francs for our mission, but which is to last us until June, 1844. I mentioned that I would willingly receive the number of five of the Spanish Capuchins, and requested of him to give orders that these five should proceed at once to Bordeaux, that they should immediately acquaint

me of their setting out for the city of B., and of their arrival in same city, to address letters to Rt. Rev. Dr. Barron, Post-office, Waterford, Ireland, that they should have letters to bishops, especially to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, that if the Propaganda could not defray their expenses to Bordeaux to draw on my agent in Ireland : 'Pierce Newport Barron, Post-office, Waterford, Ireland.'

"I forgot to beg of the Cardinal to instruct the Spanish Capuchins to procure every article requisite for establishing a school, such as for spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic and such matters, all for the Spanish language which is spoken on many points of the coast. Please, dear friend, to mention all these matters to Revmo Padre Firmino, their Superior in Rome, and that they should not be sparing in providing themselves with these articles. I have the superior of the priests for the conversion of the Blacks ready to see them received in Bordeaux as soon as they present themselves to the Archbishop.

"Let them also take with them pious books, catechisms and the paintings of the Divino Pastore ; and if my boxes have been forwarded to Gibraltar, to request of Padre Firmino to give orders at once for their reforwarding to Liverpool for me but marked 'Per transit for the Guineas.'

"Please exert yourself about these matters. Also to forward to me, if you can, a great variety of vegetable seeds, fruit seeds that can be so propagated, &c. All this I forgot while in Italy. Please also at once to draw on me if you have not as yet done so for your claim against me. I have only just arrived here in Dublin. Remember me most kindly to Paul and to all as usual.

"Have you done anything for my poor brother and family? Recommend them everywhere to the prayers of the pious, and my other innumerable relations, myself, companions of the mission and the poor Africans. Five of the Congregation of the Priests of the S. Heart of Mary for the conversion of the Blacks come with me at present, and they take this mission most especially under their



care, and promise me new subjects every year. This gives me great encouragement. See what Prayer has done. Tell this to Abbate Pallotti, Melia &c.

"Kindest remembrance to them, to all the Cameratas, and in Jesus, Mary and Joseph I am yours truly,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina and  
Vic. Apost. of the two Guineas."

"Dublin, 6th Jan. 1843."

"Have you sent Francesco to me? Let him now come with the Spanish Capuchins. Vessels going to the West coast of Africa could not touch at Gibraltar, as the merchant at Liverpool assures me, though they might at other ports of Spain, owing to currents &c."

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(Page 82.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

"LYONS, Dec. 7, 1842."

"MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I write by this same post a letter to Mgr. Cadolini and, as it is in my poor Italian, I would be glad you were at his side when he would have to read it. The substance of it is that the Concilio at Lyons cannot give me the necessary money, having little at this period of the year to dispose of. They hope to be able to give me about 2.000 or 2.500 dollars, which would be quite insufficient for my missionaries even for travelling expenses, to say nothing of provisions, but provisions of every possible kind; nothing of furniture, of house, of clothes, a boat, a horse, a cow, instruments of culture, of trade, freight &c., and support for months after arrival, owing to extreme difficulty of obtaining remittances or anything from Europe. In fine, I propose to Mgr. C. to go with the 5 or 6 who offer to come with me from Ireland, and I request him to explain to Padre Firmino, the Commissario Apostolico of the Spanish Capuchins, the cause of my change. I make it as a suggestion to his Eminence,

Cardinal Fransoni, and to him, begging of them to command me to adopt another plan more suitable.

"In about 5 or 6 months the Concilio di Lione thinks there would be no doubt of obtaining my full demand; but I can't remain. I have begged of Mgr. C. to write. Do you write also and direct to Waterford. Please call on Mgr. C. and explain my letter. Let him know that it is my request, and apologize for it.

"If the box be not forwarded, let it be sent to me per transit to the Guineas, Africa, and to the care of Thomas Cullen, Liverpool.

"If you will dispose of your Sacristan, Francesco Schiffer, who desires to come with me, I can only say he does not more desire my company than I do his; and if he be disposed still to come, let him proceed at once to meet me at the said Thomas Cullen's, Liverpool. Don't be afraid, my dear Dr., I am not as yet a bankrupt. I will pay you at last all demands, and that before my departure for Africa. Tell the good Pallotti all about me. I think they made an unfortunate choice, a poor angashore to be Bishop of Constantina.

"Most affectionate remembrances to all:—poor sick Mr. N., Ab. Melia, Palma, Molony, Smith, all the prefects and through them to all the good lads of your edifying College. And in Jesus, Mary and Joseph,

"Yours affectionately,

"†EDWARD BARRON,

"Bp. of Constantina and Vic. Apost. of the Guineas."

(Page 83.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

"PARIS, 12th Dec. 1842."

"MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I wrote to you and to Mgr. Cadolini on the 7th inst., giving the result of my application to the Propagation de la Foi at Lyons. They assured me that the means were not in their hands, but that most

probably the sum of 2.500 scudi would be given for the present, and that there could be scarcely any doubt of my full demand of 9.400 scudi being granted about next May, 1843. It is probable that about the 18th inst. the sum of 2.500 scudi will be decreed me by the two conseils of Lyons and Paris, with which I purpose as follows, if it please the Propaganda Fide. Namely, to send to Palmas (Cape) the two or three priests prepared by Rev. Mr. Foley for our Mission, and with them the three or four mechanicks who have offered for same mission. But this depends on their willingness to go forward without me.

“Another plan is to obtain from the Conseils of Lyons and Paris such an assurance or guarantee that such or such a sum, say 9.000 or 10.000 scudi will be granted for my mission at next distribution of funds in months of April or May; and on such guarantee I believe there is no doubt but that the money can be obtained in bank, and then with God’s help we will be able to proceed all together on our African Mission.

“I would not at all wish to part with the good Spanish missionaries. I believe the perpetuity of that Mission mainly depends on them, on the Spanish nation, and particularly on a religious body such as the Spanish Capuchins. Without waiting the result of the practicability of obtaining the guarantees of the two Conseils of Lyons and Paris, and of raising money in banks on such guarantee, I write you this view of the state of matters, and beg of you most particularly to wait on the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda or Mgr. Cadolini the Secretary, that thereby no decision be come to for the present respecting the Spanish Capuchins. In truth I am uneasy at what I have written respecting them in letter of 7th inst. To you, my dear Friend, it will suffice to assure you that I would prefer them to my own good countrymen on such a mission as Africa. Besides the above reason, they will be more pliable to my will, more easily brought to adopt ecclesiastical usages.

"This latter plan of raising the money on the guarantee of the Conseil is obviously preferable. By tomorrow I hope to know the result and to communicate the same at once to Propaganda, Rome.

"If it fail, what would the Cardinal wish me to do? The sum of 2 or 3 thousand scudi expected in a few days will not even suitably enable four to go out to Cape Palmas. It would be altogether insufficient to the establishing a mission (as contemplated) at Cape Mount, which promises far speedier and more copious results than that of Palmas. My reason for proposing to send the Irish missionaries is this alone, that with the small sum of 2,000 scudi a second mission could not be undertaken; and hence I thought it better to send them with that sum to the establishment at Cape Palmas in which the European language spoken is English.

"Please, dear friend, explain these matters. In a few days you will hear again from me. I am most anxious to hear from you. Direct to Waterford.

"In my next I will give you more decided information respecting our route, in case I have the happiness of obtaining the cooperation of the Spaniards. I fear it would be impossible, as we had determined with Father Firmino, Superior of the Spanish Capuchins, to fix upon Gibraltar as the place of rendezvous. I think it would be impossible to obtain shipping from Gibraltar to the Western coast of Africa. Please then, my dear friend, to request of Rev. Mr. Molouney to apply to Father Firmino on this point. He has it in his power to get this information from Cadiz. It is a matter of great moment. For should that be impossible it will be requisite, in case the Spanish missionaries come, that they meet us in England, whence we can obtain vessels bound for the W. coast of Africa. I hope you will understand this and for the glory of God attend to all the commissions.

"You need not, until further notice, send forward the young man in your service who is a candidate for Africa.

Perhaps he may still be the companion of the Spaniards, and that would be desirable. But do not send forward any box to Gibraltar, but send per transit to Thomas Cullen for me at Liverpool. Ever in Jesus, Mary and Joseph, Yours affectionately,

“† EDWARD BARRON,

“Bp. of Constantina and Vic. Apost. of the Guineas.”

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(Page 84.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

“Post-office, WATERFORD, 9th Febr. 1843.

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—I received on yesterday yours of Rome without date. I must say candidly it tells me nothing of the Spaniards, if they will come, or of Francesco. Not a word about Dr. Cullen, and indeed altogether not a very satisfactory letter.

“By this post I have written to the Cardinal of Propaganda about an attempt having been threatened by natives to destroy our establishment, owing to some Methodist calumny. But the calumniator has been discovered and no injury is to be feared. On the contrary we enjoy the full confidence of the native Africans. But there are very serious apprehensions of the Africans coming into conflict with the colonists. Great jealousy always existed with them against this colony, and it has been very seriously augmented by the imprudent conduct of the Presbyterian preacher attempting to punish some native Africans who broke into their store and pillaged it. I wish you would see him again and explain these matters.

“I have mentioned to his Eminence that a Dr. Madden, who is employed by the English Government on the coast of Africa and who is a good Catholic, has thrice conjured me not to sail at this time of the year for the coast of Africa, but to wait until the rains of May, June and July are over, otherwise, he says, we sacrifice our lives and the prospects of the Catholic Mission.



"I am now at London to obtain letters from the Secretary of the English Colonies, Lord Stanley, to the British Governors on the coast of Africa. He is rather satisfactory.

"Please tell the Cardinal that letters have reached this from Gibraltar from Dr. Hughes, in which he expresses himself rather pleased with how matters promise under the present Governor and with the present Tory ministers. Tell also Cardinal Frasoni that if we are to follow the advice of this Dr. Madden, and not to leave until the end of July for the coast of Africa which I submit to him, the Capuchins ought to be looked to in the meantime and not left a burden on our poor means. The means are very little considering our multiplied expenses.

"The Propaganda letter I have received mentions about Padre Bravi, Silvestrino of Osimo, recommended by Ab. Pallotti and accepted by me for the African Mission, and wishes to know what I now say. To tell the truth, in the present state of affairs it appears too much an additional new nation. We have already Spaniards, French, Irish, Bavarians and Negroes. Do you then with my little friend Ab. Melia, manage to make some excuse. I also want you to obtain for six French missionaries the powers of Apostolic missionaries with the usual papers given on such occasions. Their Superior wrote to me to that effect.

"You have not answered my queries in past letters.

"Ever yours in Jesus, Mary and Joseph,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina."

(Page 85.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

"Post-office, WATERFORD, IRELAND.

"June 8th, 1843.

"MY DEAREST PAUL:—I have heard of you all at the Irish College, Rome, by an undated letter from the Rev. Tobias Kirby, but which I think must have been posted at Rome about the very beginning of March. But please

to thank him for it. He complains of me as I do of him. He is surprised at my saying nothing of Waterford or its inhabitants. And what will be his surprise to hear that I have not as yet, 5th of June, made a visit to it. For having arrived in Ireland in the very beginning of January, and expecting by all means to leave for Africa in about six weeks, I thought it necessary to see the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Stanley, before any other business and accordingly went off to London. Since my return from London I have been sick, and even still am unable to make a journey to Waterford; and as yet the commissions entrusted to me at the Irish College, Rome, are not delivered; but on this day, 7th June, all are to be taken down to Waterford. I have suffered a good deal for two months past from bronchitis and asthma.

“ You hear much about the Repeal movement. Affairs assume every day a more serious aspect. The Orangemen of the northern counties have begun to make a stir, and are evidently encouraged by speeches of Lords Lorton, Roden, Cols. Verden &c. The Duke of Wellington is for the most coercive measures, but Sir Robert Peel will not consent to their adoption. Two vessels of war with troops aboard were dispatched a few days ago from Kingstown to Waterford on the representations of six individuals of the Tory party. When they arrived all was perfectly quiet and peaceful. It is generally supposed even by the moderate that the party in power with the Orangemen will do all they possibly can to drive the people of this country to rebellion. I must however say that I am not altogether for Repeal. I don't understand the question. I am pleased to perceive that several of the Liberal members of Parliament inveigh most strongly against one great cause of discontent on the part of Ireland, and that is the Church Establishment of the so-called Protestant Church of Ireland. They say in open words that it is absurd in the last degree to have an immense revenue without a Church.

“ I will thank you, my dear Paul, to give me your advice touching one point which escaped me till now, viz. what discipline would you advise me to petition for regarding the observance of feasts and fasts for the Coast of Africa ? Our missionaries will be from Spain and France, but I think the zealous missionary Society of France, who give me at present 5 or 7 subjects and who engage to give me a yearly supply of missionaries, will be the principal missionaries on that coast in the course of succeeding years. For which reason perhaps I might petition Propaganda to allow me to adopt the discipline of France in respect to feast days of obligation, which are : *Nativitas Domini, Ascensio Domini, Assumptio B. Mariæ Virginis, et Festum Omnium Sanctorum.* And I would wish to add : *Festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.* If you approve of this disposition, will you please to petition accordingly for my mission ? Regarding the point of fasting, I would be inclined to think that as this climate of Africa is so very unwholesome we would do well to adopt the custom of the United States of America. Another reason would be that the few Catholics on that coast who are from America are already used to the same. By it the abstinence on Saturday does not hold, nor does the fast or abstinence of Wednesdays or Saturdays in Advent bind the faithful. (I am uncertain as to the Saturdays in Advent.) There are other peculiarities which I do not remember. Please then, dear Paul, if you approve of this, to petition for the same regulation and to let me have the answer in due course directed to Post-office, Waterford. You will see what are the other regulations of fasting and abstinence for the United States of America by consulting the decrees of the four Provincial Councils of the U. S. America, printed by Bourliè at Stamperia di Propaganda Fide, Roma. I would also thank you to obtain permission for our missionaries to begin Matins and Lauds at two o'clock throughout the year. Here I must add that under the opinion of Dr. Kenrick, Bp. of Philadelphia, and of Rev. — Timon

Lazarist, I have intimated the adoption of the discipline of the U. S. America regarding fasting and abstinence.

“What has been done regarding the Italian priest who offered to accompany me to Africa? I am of opinion that though I at first willingly accepted his zealous services, it would be better for him to think of another mission wherein his own countrymen would be engaged. But Francesco Schiffer would be of immense service to us as a tailor and sacristan. I will thank you, dear Paul, to have him arrive about the middle of August at your good brother's house in Liverpool. He (Thos.) wrote me recently and mentioned his intention of going to France in a few days. I am at present at a cousin's house near Ashbourne, Co. Meath, and called on your brother Edward and your uncle, Thomas Maher. T. M. has given me one pound for my mission. I did not see Edward. I feel anxious about the arrival of a box I left in care of Dr. Kirby, which contained books, vestments and a great assortment of Episcopal and other articles. As it is to be forwarded by sea it ought to have been sent long since, there being often great delay in such matters.

“You can draw on me for amount of Francesco Schiffer's expenses, or rather on my agent, Pierce Newport Barron, Grange, Waterford, Ireland, as also for other matters which may be due of me. Please, dear Paul, to inform them at Propaganda about forwarding the good Capuchins destined for my Mission, to the house of the French missionaries who also furnish subjects for my Mission. The address is as follows: A la Neuville, près Amiens, France. I have the permission of the Superior of the Society, and his name is: Mr. L'Abbe Libermann, Superieur des Missionnaires de l'Immaculée Conception. Perhaps Francesco Schiffer might accompany them. I have heard of the arrival of Rev. — Norris through your brother Thomas.

“I purpose sailing from London for Guinea, as I have ordered a frame wood house to be built there and I pur-



pose chartering a vessel in that port. This will probably be less expensive, considering our number. The good French missionaries with the Capuchins can travel from Amiens to London in two days. It will be time sufficient to send the Capuchins to Amiens so as to arrive there about the middle of August.

"The papers give an account of the Baptist Mission having got of late a steam and sail iron vessel for the African Mission. How extraordinary is their zeal in the midst of such dreadful mortality as they invariably meet with.

"Is it true that Dr. O'Connor is appointed to Charleston, or who is? I am told the Ursuline Nuns of Charleston go to Philadelphia.

"Kindest remembrances to all friends in the College and in Rome, and believe me ever

"Your most affectionate brother in Christ,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina."

(Page 86.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

"Post-office, WATERFORD, IRELAND.

"July 6th, 1843.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I wrote to you about the 15th of June requesting you to petition the Holy Father for the same discipline regarding Fasts, Abstinences and Holy Days (some few days of the latter, namely Holy Days, excepted) as are observed in the United States of America. With the advice of Dr. Fr. P. Kenrick of Philadelphia, and of Very Rev. Mr. Timon of Missouri, I had already done so or enacted such disciplinary regulation. Please also to get for us, if not already granted to all missionaries, permission to begin Matins and Lauds at two o'clock P. M.

"The French missionaries are desirous of getting from Propaganda a certain Missionary document given usually as they allege, to all missionaries. The number is five and



perhaps will be seven. Please to procure them for me and send them by Francesco Schiffer, by whom I will thank you to send the Breviary according to the Roman Calendar as was in course of printing at Salviucci's. I was told that it would appear for sale in the month of March last. Your good brothers Michael and Thomas who act for me will have money on hands to pay for this and for such other matters as I am indebted for to the Irish College, Rome.

"When you will have these matters in readiness please to have them sent by Francesco Schafer who may then proceed at once on his way to Marseilles to meet the Spanish Capuchins who live there at their Convent, and are waiting for notice from me to proceed to London, whence we sail for the coast of Africa. I have made choice of this country to sail from in preference to France, because Englishmen are better acquainted with the navigation of the West coast of Africa from their extensive commercial relations with it. London is preferred also to any other port because there our frame stud house is being built. The navigation of the West coast is most dangerous.

"I received on yesterday a letter from Propaganda in date of 22 June, about a small sum to be paid for freight on certain paintings of mine which I shall pay in due course. Please, dear Paul, to write a note to Propaganda to this effect for me. In same letter mention is made simply that the Spanish Capuchins are ready for orders to move to Bordeaux ; though in a letter I got about 15 days ago their superior, Father Joseph Mary de Granollers, informs me that Propaganda had appointed him Prefect Apostolic and my Coadjutor in the Mission of the two Guineas. I suppose it must be correct. Please let me know and write immediately.

"I have written two letters to your brothers about the vessel to be chartered for us but have not received an answer. I hope we may be able to sail from London

about the middle of August, but generally there is great uncertainty in the sailing of vessels and the Captains do not like, as Redman and Fuller, traders on West coast of Africa, told me about last March, to set out for that coast until later than I have been assigning, owing to the unhealthiness produced by the recent rains on that coast. I would be obliged to you if you would signify this to the Propaganda. Since my last letter your good brother Edward subscribed five pounds towards my Mission. I have obtained 231 pounds in this way. In the Annals of the Propagation de la Foi I am said to have received this year nearly 70.000 francs, but that includes the two grants, namely, that of last year and this together. I would thank you to correct any persons, as you may judge, on this point.

"Every day matters are becoming more critical in the political world, at least with us. Next Sunday O'Connell is to be here. Some dread that the government will now at length use coercive measures to prevent the great meeting to be held on the hill of Waterford. The barracks are being put in a state of defence. I have not seen Dr. Kirby's mother or sister; they are not in W. Father Cooke is by no means well. Unless he goes to the baths of Germany few expect him to live long. The Bishop is well, and so generally are all. Up to this there is no appearance anywhere of anything but peace and religion. All is perfect peace throughout Ireland, but the people are daily becoming more determined on having justice done.

"Obtain, my dearest Paul, prayers for poor Africa in every direction, of priests, religious &c.

"Kindest regards to Kirby, Malowny, Melia, to all the students &c. Pray for me and the Africans, and in Christ I remain

"Yours most affectionately,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina &c."

(Page 87.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

“Post-office, WATERFORD, IRELAND.

July 17, 1843.

“MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I write again to you knowing that the Propaganda must be anxious about my departure for my mission, but the fact is that it is impossible to get the trading vessels that frequent that coast of Africa to go out unless at their own stated periods. That will be about the very end of September or the beginning of October. I have now a letter from Captain Killett of the British Navy, who was one of the commanding officers cruising on that coast for the purpose of putting down the traffic of slaves, and his words are: ‘if we value life or the cause we embark in, not to leave before the end of September or the beginning of October. But why (he continues to speak) in the name of goodness take them out now; it is only tempting providence.’ So he writes to Mr. J. Tabot, Co. Wexford, late member for New Ross, who wrote to the Captain to obtain letters for us to the commanding officers on that coast. Represent these matters to Propaganda for me, and answer my three letters to you.

“No account as yet have I received about the box I left with Rev. Dr. Kirby to be forwarded to me to Liverpool. You need not as yet send the good Francesco Schaffer to Marseilles until I give you notice. I am much surprised at not hearing from either Thomas or Michael, to both of whom I wrote, fearing lest Thomas might be in France with Mrs. Cullen. But I propose going to Liverpool and London about the chartering of a vessel. Thence I go to Amiens to quiet the good French missionaries, who are beginning to be most anxious to leave and enter on their missionary labours. I am getting a little help in money for my mission. Up to date I have received L. 253.15.0. Dr. Foran gave me 10 pounds, Dr. Cantwell 5, Dr. Murray 3. Dr. Blake has promised me.

"The political state of this country is becoming daily more and more critical. I think that both parties know not what to do. Ireland is in every sense ready to be up in arms, or to be quiet, as Dan tells them. The Government does nothing to pacify, makes no steps toward justice. Pride prevents it. The Session almost at an end, and nothing done by it but of an irritating nature. God knows how matters are to end. Even Tories admit that the Protestant Church Establishment is an anomaly and must be brought down.

"Kindest regards to all in the College. Pray for us, and believe me, dearest Paul,

"Your most attached brother in J. M. & J.,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina."

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(Page 88.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

"FORD'S HOTEL, Manchester Street,

"Manchester Square, LONDON.

"August 2nd, 1843."

"MY DEAR PAUL:—I have received yours of 9th July and for the first time heard of the Spanish Capuchins being in want of money. They themselves gave me no intimation of it, but three days ago I forwarded them the sum of seventy pounds sterling for travelling expenses &c., both for themselves and for Francesco Schiffer. Should you require any money for the latter, you can pay for him what is required and let me or my agent, Pierce Newport Barron, Post-office, Waterford, know the amount of it, and you shall be reimbursed. But if Fr. S. should not come, let the Spanish Capuchins be informed of this and then they may proceed, as I have already directed them, to Amiens. They are actually in expectation of Francesco's coming, as I told them to wait for him. I don't expect to leave for Africa before the end of September or the begin-

ning of October. I go next week to Amiens to see my missionaries there.

"Rev. Dr. Russell has gone on to Dublin. Kindest remembrances to all, and believe me, my dearest Paul,

"Your most affectionate brother in Christ,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Constantina."

"Affectionate remembrances to Dr. O'Connor. The boxes have not as yet arrived. The French missionaries want the papers mentioned in so many letters to Rome. Pray don't forget the formulas given usually by the Propaganda (as they say) to missionaries.

"Could you send me a copy of the new edition of the Breviary which was to have been published in the month of March past at Rome? The printer lives in the piazzzi degli Apostoli. As we sail from London, the address at the head of this letter is the safest, and anything left for me there will reach its destination. Adieu, dearest Paul."

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(Page 89.) BISHOP BARRON TO BISHOP F. P. KENRICK.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAREST FRIEND :—I perceive by a letter of yours arrived here and addressed to Dr. Cullen, that you have received one of mine written in the month of August last. I thank you for your kind remembrance of me.

"I have obtained permission of Propaganda to return to you, tho' at first it was their wish to appoint me to Western Australia. The Mission of West Africa continues on another plan. It is entrusted to the Society or Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Mary, of which M. l'Abbè Libermann is the founder. Their house is at Neuville, près Amiens. The Congregation purposes establishing a school for the natives on the island of Goree, the scholars to be taken from all parts of the coast, and after making a certain proficiency in elementary education they



can be sent to Europe, probably to Rome, to perfect their ecclesiastical studies and in due time to be sent back to evangelize their countrymen. The missions of St. Louis and Goree have three native priests, one of whom named Fridoil (Arsenius) is a fair scholar. He preaches well in French and in his native tongue, the Woloff. The education of natives for that mission tho' slow will be surer of success.

"I hope, if not already done, you will do all in your power to prevent any possible chance of poor Catholics being sent to Liberia or to any part of West Africa. The colonists from America are in a very bad condition morally as also temporally. I don't much confide in their future prospects in consequence of very serious conflicts with the natives, especially when the American squadron, now on the coast, will be withdrawn. I have sent back to America the only father of a family who loved and practised his Religion. He with five children ought to be with you in Philadelphia before this period. The name is Brooks. I shall do all in my power to recall from Liberia a few more of them. Of the original number of Catholics (14) several apostatized. Should others be sent, they will be deprived of the resources of Religion. Even during Rev. J. Kelly's stay at Palmas of the number of those who alone had approached the Sacraments I found two of them had apostatized. I hope shortly after Easter, when I leave this for America *via* Liverpool, to forward to you about 100 pounds, in order, if possible, to contrive measures for their return with the merchants trading with West Africa. This matter gives me great concern. The good Mr. Frenaye will assist me in this. Let him use his own prudence. A letter to Rev. J. Kelly on the matter would be well. He could give great light as to how to proceed, and what merchants at Philadelphia, New York, Boston or Baltimore to employ &c. I would willingly make any expense to bring those poor Catholics back; humanity as well as Religion demands it.

“Before leaving the coast of Africa I forwarded to you four large boxes containing pictures, and two or three or four trunks containing articles for the Altar, wearing apparel &c. They were put on board of a French vessel going to Guadaloupe, (West Indies,) and there they were to be put on board of an American vessel for Philadelphia. These goods left Africa about 25th October, 1844.

“The Holy Father is very well. He told me that several Americans protested most strongly against the conduct of their countrymen towards the Catholics of Philadelphia. He is very uneasy about Ireland, owing to their present most unhappy divisions on the Bequest bill. There is bad news from Mount Libanus. The Russians, and perhaps England also, have done much to injure Religion in those parts. Some even say that American missionaries have seduced away several families from their Religion. England is using a most unhappy influence against Religion in Malta. Some ignorant priests have become Protestant ministers, at least one, and he has been re-ordained by the Protestant bishop sent there from England. The excellent Father Esmond, Jesuit from Ireland, is the only (almost) prop of Religion there. There are appearances of the English government wishing to lay hands on the Catholic ecclesiastical property. The lay portion is good, but the ecclesiastical and religious portion is by no means so good.

“This College is most admirably conducted. The most extraordinary union and charity exist among all its inmates; superiors, students, servants or lay brothers. Most of the servants are kind of Brothers from Ireland. The College is mainly supported by three vineyards which are farmed by Irishmen. Their system is the object of much astonishment to the Romans. Prince Borghese has requested Dr. Cullen to allow his man to introduce his ploughs and men into his villas and give him a specimen of the system. The profits of it are already in wheat,

about six times above the Italian system. The cattle, vegetables, wine &c. are quite superior.

"Dr. Cullen, who is not well, desires to be remembered to you ; and believe me dear Dr. Kenrick,

"Ever yours most affectionately,

"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Eucarpia."

"Irish College, Rome 13 Febr. 1845."

"N. B. Please to write to me, care of Thomas and Michael Cullen. Kindest remembrances to Drs. Peter, O'C., to all priests, to Mr. Frenaye and to all my friends. Order me if I can be of use to you in Europe. Address your letter to care of Dr. Foran, Waterford. Ora pro me."

---

(Page 90.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

"TURIN, 23 May, 1845.

"MY DEAR DR. KIRBY:—Behold me at length writing you a few lines to acquaint you and all my dear friends in Rome about my movements &c. In the first place I beg of you to remember me most affectionately to all friends in the College and generally in Rome. Respecting our journey, the French steamer, which left Civita Vecchia the same day as we did, struck us at night but only alarmed us without any injury as far as I know. One of the three days I stopped in Genoa I was laid up with an attack of asthma. Since then I have been well. I have completed my eighth day in Turin, and leave this evening for Chambery ; thence after Sunday, that is, after a day's delay, I proceed to Lyons, thence to Paris. I have learned here that Dr. Kenrick of Philadelphia is in Europe. I am happy to say that there are good accounts of my dear nephew who is an attachè of the British Legation here. The British minister, whose name is Ralph Abercrombie, has been most attentive to me. He has asked me four times to dinner, and twice I accepted and met the diplomatic characters and various other principal

personages. The ruse of worldly personages renders it most dangerous for persons such as we are to go much among them.

"Please to tell Rev. R. Wood that I have purchased for him according to his request, the large Antiphonarium (well bound) and not finding a large Gradual, I have also purchased a small one, both of which I have addressed to him, that is: R. W., R. C. C., Dublin, care of Very Rev. Dr. Hore. I thought this a better plan than to send them to Rome; he is thus spared the expense of about 25 francs, for the duty on bound books entering Rome is very great, so Marietti of Turin informs me. Let Wood inform his father that I have paid the sum of 80 francs for him. The books leave Turin this day for Genoa, and probably in less than a fortnight they will leave that place for Dublin. I have purchased the best edition (Marietti) of all St. Alphonsus' works and various other practical works to the amount of about 300 francs. I send them by sea from Genoa.

"I don't much like the spirit of the *Univers* on Irish matters. I am informed that the king of this State abstains every day except Sundays; I heard this from one of his priests. \* \* \* Nothing can excel the edification of the Royal family, particularly that of the King.

"Kindest remembrances to Rev. Messrs. Maher, Norris, Molony, Smith, to all the Students, and believe me, dearest Dr. Kirby,

"Yours ever in Jesus and Mary,  
"† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. &c."

(Page 91.) BISHOP BARRON TO BISHOP F. P. KENRICK.

"LYONS, 26 May, 1845.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND:—I have just heard from the Secretary of the Council of the Propagation of the Faith in this city that you have probably arrived in Rome, and like

one of those noble, generous robbers of old, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you of my fixed determination—but not without warning you. ‘Tene quod habes ut nemo accipiat coronam tuam.’

“May I expect that you will excuse me and even favour me with a few lines to Waterford? My present desire is to go among your wild Yankees, and sincerest desire too; but I would feel infinitely more pleasure were you on the field of battle, and probable we could arrange matters without striking a blow.

“In your letter let me hear of your dearest brother’s health. Few things could give me greater pain than to hear of his being unwell. I am well, thanks be to God. Can I assist you in any way? Command me and as far as I can go, no one will be more willing. My means are slender but they are at your disposition. Give me advice. I demand it of you, and in Jesus, Mary and Joseph ever yours,

“† EDWARD BARRON, Bp. of Eucarpia.”

“P. S. Kindest remembrances to all in Irish College. Pray for me and mine.”



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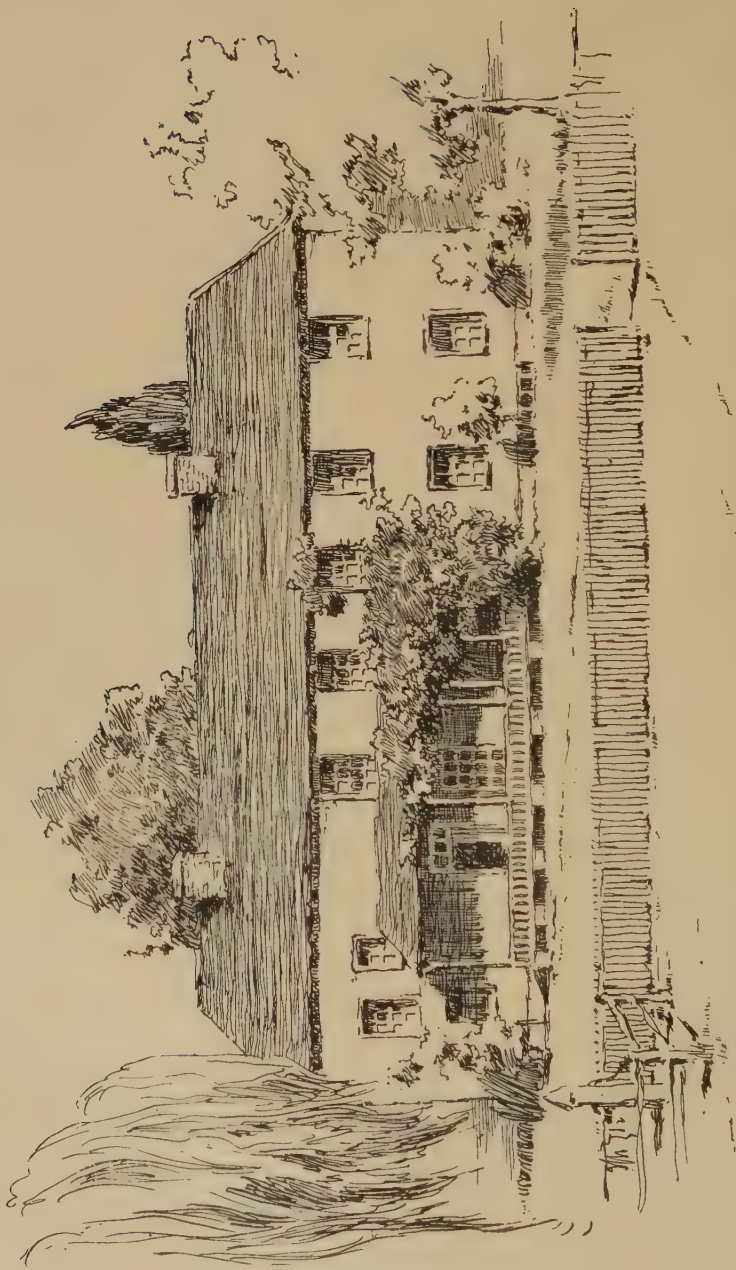
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THE WILLCOX MANSION AT CONCORD, PA.

## THE CATHOLIC MISSION AT CONCORD, DELAWARE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

---

BY JOSEPH WILLCOX.

---

A limited amount of information only exists concerning the history of the old mission at Concord, in Pennsylvania, excepting through traditional evidence. From generation to generation, in the Willcox family, the story has been transmitted that the station at the house of Thomas Willcox, the first of the family, who came to the Colonies, was originally established soon after the time when he erected the paper mill, in the vicinity, in 1729.

In connection with this subject the following account has been written by Rev. John A. Morgan, S. J., of Loyola College, Baltimore, at the request of the writer.

“ ‘Ivy Mills,’ \* so writes Dr. Oliver in his *Collections*, was attended from Bohemia, Cecil County, Md., until St. Joseph’s, Philadelphia, was established in 1733. Father Joseph Greateon and others were at Bohemia.

“ ‘In some old papers his travels from Bohemia to Philadelphia are mentioned, and the houses where he was wont to stay.

“ ‘Fr. Greateon attended Philadelphia some time before St. Joseph’s was founded. After his time a church was established at West Chester.”

“Dr. Oliver says of Fr. Joseph Greateon : “ ‘this apostle of Pennsylvania entered the order in 1708, and was professed August 4th, 1719. He died worn out with labour

---

\* A modern name for the old station at Concord.



in that vineyard August 19th, 1753.' " \* Fr. Greateon died at Bohemia, which, at that time, was a mission, with a classical school attached to it ; where Archbishop Carroll and perhaps Charles Carroll began their Latin grammar.

"It was the custom of the Society to have a central house, and to give stations at various points. Hence, radiating from Bohemia, the Fathers traversed Cecil and Harford counties to the north, and the peninsular counties to the south. Their journies were extended to Pennsylvania, and stations were given wherever the Catholics could be found ; hence Ivy Mills [Concord], West Chester, Philadelphia, &c. As the number increased churches were built, as at Deer Creek, West Chester, Philadelphia, &c.

"Bishop Kenrick wrote to Fr. Peter Kenny, [a Jesuit,] in 1833, when St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, was restored to the Society : 'I shall, with great pleasure, see the successors of the venerable men, who founded the Pennsylvania Mission, re-occupy the first church of this city. My sanction therefore is cheerfully granted to the proposal made in your favor of the 25th inst. These points are given from memory of documents which are far away.'

In a later communication to the writer Father Morgan stated concerning the deficiency in the records. "Records were poorly kept in the last century. In the case of Ivy Mills, the Father no doubt made the records at Bohemia or at St. Joseph's, in Philadelphia. In regard to Bohemia, the records preserved go back to about 1780 ; the records of St. Joseph's to 1757. Many reasons occur for the imperfect records. The Fathers, on their journies, wrote on bits of paper, and these were lost. Again, in those penal times, a record was a strong evidence in a court."

At St. Joseph's church in Philadelphia the book containing the records prior to 1758 has been lost ; but the

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\* *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus. By the Rev. L. Oliver, St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter. Printed by Charles Dolman, London, 1845.*

records, subsequent to that date, show attendance at Concord by a priest attached to that church.\*

Rev. Joseph Greateon, S. J., was the only priest stationed in Philadelphia from the building of St. Joseph's church, in 1733, until 1741, when Rev. Henry Neale, S. J., came to assist him. Father Neale died in May, 1748. Rev. Robert Harding succeeded Fr. Greateon in 1750. In August, 1758, Rev. Ferdinand Farmer came to Philadelphia to aid Fr. Harding.† These priests are presumed to have attended the station at the house of Thomas Willcox, in Concord, from the time when it was first established until 1758.

From the latter date the records at St. Joseph's church show attendance at Concord by Rev. Ferdinand Farmer until a short time before his death on August 17th, 1786.

The records at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches, in Philadelphia, show attendance at Concord, in 1787, by Rev. Francis Beeston and Rev. Robert Molyneux; and by Rev. F. Beeston in 1788, 1789 and 1790.

In 1790, Rev. John Rosseter, O.S.A., built the church at Coffee Run, in New Castle county, Del. As this church was only 15 miles from Concord, it is presumed that Father Rosseter attended the latter station until he moved to Philadelphia in 1798.

In some letters of Rev. Charles Whelan to Bishop Carroll, which have been mislaid, and in letters of Rev. Patrick Kenny to the same bishop, it was stated that the former attended the missions at Willcox's, West Chester, O'Neill's and White Clay Creek, [Coffee Run,] from January, 1800, until he was relieved from duty at some of them by Rev. Patrick Kenny in August, 1804, and from the others in January, 1805.

As early as October, 1801, Rev. Charles Whelan was

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\* Of the ten children of Thomas Willcox, born between the years 1728 and 1745, no record remains of a single baptism.

† Scharf and Westcott's *Hist. of Philadelphia*, II, pp. 1368-9.

stationed at Wilmington.\* He was succeeded by Rev. Patrick Kenny early in the year 1805, when he removed to Bohemia in Maryland; at which place he died on March 21st, 1806.

Rev. Patrick Kenny attended the mission at Concord from 1804 until a short time before his death, which occurred in March, 1840.

Thomas Willcox, at whose house this mission was first established, settled in Concord prior to the year 1725.†

Thomas Willcox passed an uneventful life, in the country, while busily engaged in the manufacture of paper, and little is now known concerning him. In the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, (vol. iv, pp. 274-5,) his name appears in the list of subscribers to the building fund of St. Mary's church, in Philadelphia, in 1762. The name of his son-in-law, James White, and his son John Willcox also appear in the same list.

Thomas Willcox married Elizabeth Cole, from Ireland. It is believed that, through her influence, he embraced the Catholic faith.

They had ten children, as follows:

NAMES.	BORN.	NAMES.	BORN.
John . . . . .	June 21st, 1728	Deborah . . . . .	January 7th, 1738
Ann . . . . .	May 9th, 1730	Thomas . . . . .	November 7th, 1740
James . . . . .	March 23d, 1732	Thomas . . . . .	December 16th, 1741
Elizabeth . . . . .	September 7th, 1734	Mark . . . . .	August 19th, 1744
Mary . . . . .	October 8th, 1736	Margaret . . . . .	October 23d, 1746

Thomas Willcox died in November, 1779, having bequeathed his farm and paper-mill to his son Mark Will-

\* Letter of Rev. Lawrence S. Phelan to Bishop Carroll.

† In a late letter to the writer, Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin, of Philadelphia, states that in 1884 he "copied the following from the *Note Book* of the late Bishop Neumann, which is now in Rome: "In reference to the church at Ivy Mills the bishop set down these items:

"Ivy Mills S. Thomas Apostle 60 x 40 stone

"1720 Mass in Willcox mansion since

" for 40 yrs. by FF. Farmer S. J. & Patk Kenny

'1842 May 1 21 conf. by Bp. Kenrick

Rev. P. Sheridan once a mo.

1853-58 July 23 Rev. Chas. J. Mangin in charge

'1853 Aug. 28 c. s. b. by Bp. Neumann . 24 conf.

"1855 Oct. 21. ch. b. " " " "

cox. The latter resided there, except during a short interval, until he died in February, 1827. He was succeeded by his son James M. Willcox, who died in March, 1854.

The old house in Concord, in which Thomas Willcox lived, and in which Mass was celebrated for a period of 100 years, was torn down in 1837.\*

Mass was continued to be said in the new house, erected on the same site as the old mansion, until a church was built in the vicinity in 1853.

In the year 1782, Mark Willcox entered into partnership, in Philadelphia, with Thomas Flahavan. Their business consisted largely in selling produce from Virginia and North Carolina, shipping much of it to England and Holland. This business continued until 1792. In the meanwhile Mark Willcox divided his time between his paper-mill and his business in Philadelphia, which was located in "Budd's Row," in Front Street near "the drawbridge."

After his removal to Philadelphia, in 1782, he was a pewholder in St. Mary's church, in that city, until 1790, when he returned to his home in Concord.

In the act of incorporation of St. Mary's church, Philadelphia, on September 13th, 1788, Mark Willcox was mentioned as one of the trustees ; which office he held as late as in 1789.†

When it was proposed to establish an Academy at Georgetown, in 1786, or there about, the following persons were appointed to receive subscriptions in Pennsylvania—George Meade, Thomas Fitzsimons, Joseph Cauffman, Mark Willcox and Thomas Lilly.‡

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\* A view of this house accompanies this paper. The two windows, on the right hand side, are located in the front of the room in which divine service was held.

Two illustrations of the little old chalice used by the early missionaries at Concord are also given. This chalice is still preserved. One view represents it, when unscrewed from the base, ready to be packed in a saddle-bag, for transportation on horseback.

† *Records*, iv, p. 270.

‡ *Shea's History*, ii, p. 308.

Mark Willcox was one of the trustees, who, in December, 1809, conveyed to the "Catholic Congregation of Christ Church," in West Chester, the church property deeded to them on March 20th, 1793, by John Hannum and wife.\*

Mark Willcox was an intimate and highly valued friend of Rev. Patrick Kenny, who attended the private chapel in his house from 1804 until the death of the former in 1827. Fr. Kenny frequently mentions him in his diary.

During the last century the priests, while visiting their widely separated stations, were accustomed to ride on horseback; and they were subjected to great hardship, especially during the winter season, from the cold, and from laborious travel over muddy roads.

Even during Father Kenny's career, in the early part of the present century, the roads were so bad, in winter, that he frequently traveled on horseback, until he was incapacitated by the enfeebled condition of his health.

The vicinity of Concord was originally settled chiefly by members of the society of Friends, many of whose descendants still occupy the farms of their ancestors. Between these people and the few Catholics, who lived in that district, the most cordial intercourse has always existed.

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\* Deed recorded at West Chester.







SKETCH OF MARY BRACKETT WILLCOX,  
OF IVY MILLS, PA.

1796-1866.

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FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

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BY SARA TRAINER SMITH.

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On September the ninth, seventeen hundred and ninety-six, (exactly one hundred years ago,) at Quincy, Mass., a little daughter was born to Captain James Brackett and his wife, Elizabeth Odiorne, of Boston. The Bracketts had lived in Massachusetts for many generations, having emigrated to this country with the early Puritans. The Odiornes were Boston people of that cultured kind that had already made the city of their home of mark among the lettered. Of good parentage, then, was the little maid, and in a delightfully intellectual home she grew to womanhood. Out of its busy circle, she stepped at the age of twenty-three, to become the wife of James M. Willcox, November the first, eighteen hundred and nineteen. From that time forth, her home was at Ivy Mills, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, a spot the very name of which is linked for generations past with that of the Willcox family, and held by all the "county people" as the very heart and centre of Catholicity.

In the county, the traditions of the early century are still fresh at its close. Among our grandmothers, the youthful stranger, Mrs. Mary B. Willcox, took at once her own high place. Stories of her charm of manner, of her graces as hostess, of her home to which all who were once

welcomed, gladly returned, were long current on the countryside. Not the least interesting of the fireside recitals with which mothers entertained their daughters in quiet homes was that which surely followed any mention of her during later years—the story of her conversion to her husband's faith. For Mrs. Willcox was a New England Protestant, and for more than twenty years after her marriage, silently "protested" under a Catholic roof and—as it may be written—beside a Catholic altar. Her husband was faithful to his God and to the Church; the Mass was celebrated as it had always been in the house of his fathers; and Catholic influence as earnest as her protest surrounded her day and night. At last, she yielded, and according to her nature, she responded to the wonders of grace, whole-heartedly and forever. She brought all the wealth of her affections, of her intellect, of her womanly wisdom and skill into the Catholic Church, gladly, gratefully and generously taking up her life-work, and giving of her best until her life's end. Those who knew and admired her as a Protestant, admired and loved her as a Catholic, and her non-Catholic neighbors, while they hesitated to follow her, could not but feel that she had entered into "that haven where they fain would be." Her example and her fearless piety were a power for good far, far beyond the utmost limit of her home-circle, and thirty years after her death, she is spoken of and remembered in homes she never knew, as one worthy of reverent imitation.

Mrs. Willcox died on March the twenty-first, eighteen hundred and sixty-six. After her death, there was found among her papers, an unfinished pencil-written sketch, which she had evidently commenced to prepare for her children, seeking to thus leave on record, in the peaceful repose of her closing days, the story of her blessed past at Ivy Mills—nearly half a century long. Slight and imperfect as it is, no other pen must tell that story until this sketch has been read. It is a history of the station at Ivy

Mills from the time of her marriage in eighteen hundred and nineteen until the year eighteen hundred and fifty-nine.

“I have been as yet quite unsuccessful in obtaining the desired information respecting this our little mission; although I know it is all on record.

“As I cannot expect to remain long here, according to the usual course of nature; and as all others have departed who could give information of the state of this church during the last 40 years—I think it may be well to give you my recollections during that time—as—if there should be anything worthy of notice or worth preserving—I shall feel thankful that it will be rescued from oblivion—if not—there is nothing lost, but the little time I take in writing it.

“When I came to this part of the country, to reside, in 1819, the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Kenny was then and had been for about 20 years the visiting Pastor once a month—celebrating Mass then on a small table at the house now occupied by our present Pastor. The congregation numbered 3 or 4 besides the family—comunicants 1 or 2. In 1827, the elder members being deceased, the place for offering the Holy Sacrifice was then removed to the principal mansion house—and still continue to be offered once in 1 or 2 months, according to the state of health of the good but infirm and suffering Pastor—the congregation increasing very slowly, being then about a doz.

“In the year 1840 the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Kenny departed to receive the reward he merited for his patience during all his sufferings & trials for many years.

“After the decease of Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Kenny there were many Clergymen sent in turn once a month, as it suited our Right Rev<sup>d</sup> Bishop Kenrick to spare one. Among those were Rev. Dr. Balfe, just from Rome—Rev. Pat<sup>k</sup> Donahue, lately ordain’d—Rev. Dr. O’Harra—Rev. Mr. Quin—Rev. Bernard McAtee—Rev. Mr. P. F. Sheridan—Rev. Hugh Fitzsimmons. During this time the congrega-



tion was very small—seldom or never more than about 4 coming.

“In 1841 the Rev. Mr. Sourin was sent—very soon one room was not enough—the small table disappeared and the sideboard took its place, being longer—higher—& cover’d look’d more like an altar—one miserable set of vestments—a very small chalice, a very old set of small cards—and an old missal 200 years old seem’d to be all the property of, as yet, the poor church—in about 3 or 4 months Rev. P. F. Sheridan became its pastor—and I, a rank puritan (as good Mr. Kelly termed it) became through the very great grace of God a member—in 1842.

“During the few months previous there seem’d a great augmentation in numbers & in May the 1st Sunday our good Bishop came out to confirm—it was the first he confirm’d after he became the true Bishop of Philad<sup>a</sup> after the decease of Bishop Conwell—this was the first Confirmation ever given at this place—there were on that day about 30 confirm’d and over 40 communions—It became necessary now for Mr. Willcox & myself to do everything possible to cooperate with our pastors to improve all things used in the service of God—the sideboard was now discarded as being unworthy for the use—an altar was built & raised upon a platform—a larger chalice procured—a tabernacle made & a ciborium, presented by Mr. Joseph Jenkins, placed therein—and some other improvements.

“In the year 1842 the students of the ecclesiastical Seminary were sent out to spend their vacation—

“This seemed to be an era in the history of our little Church—the congregation continued to increase & the Lazarists soon became our pastors—the Rev. Mr. Rolando was sent—we then commenced studying a little Catholic music—& it was truly edifying to see Mr. Willcox then approaching the age of 60 conning his lesson with the sweet simplicity of a child—to sing for the glory of God in the little Chapel (now with other rooms fill’d to overflowing) and set apart from 1843 for that use entirely—many

privileges were granted about this time—during the vacations the holy sacrifice was offer'd every morning—once, twice & even five masses in a morning—more than once—two Sundays in the month was now granted—the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was frequently given & sometimes solemn Vespers—having added to our little Chapel—6 sets of vestments, a Benediction veil & a Cope, Albs & Surplices—all of which I took much pleasure in making, together with stoles, caps &c—and we had now through the generosity of Mr. Thomas Jenkins of Baltimore a monstrance, censor, boat, &c—after Mr. Rolando came Mr. Penco, Rev. Mr. Delacroix, Mr. Rossi, Rev. Mr. Maller, Bishop Amat, in turn to be our pastors—Mr. Tornatore, Mr. Haviland, Mr. McEnroe—

“Now we may say another era commenced. Our good Bishop Kenrick having been removed to Balt<sup>e</sup> as Archbishop—and Bishop Newmann filling his place for 8 years—seeing the increase of catholicity in this place and we having a Church deem'd it necessary to supply the necessities of the congregation now amounting to 500 or 600 members to send a resident pastor in the person of the Rev. Mr. Maugin, a pious, energetic and very zealous priest in Nov. 1856—the children were now collected together and regularly instructed—and the parents became more constant in their duties—being more opportunities to practise their religion—having a pastor ever watchful over them—in Sep. 1858 an exchange was made—Rev. Mr. M. removed to another mission & Rev. Mr. Walsh placed over this Church—and a mission near Media—”

There is no mention in the above of the fact that the last five years of her labors as here represented were without the support of her beloved husband. Mr. Willcox died on March the fourth, eighteen hundred and fifty-four—twelve years before the close of Mrs. Willcox's life. With the undaunted spirit and fervor of her noble character, she bore her loss with as little change and loss for others as possible, and the grief and affection of her

friends and neighbors followed her to her long home when the call came to her in the "wild March winds" of eighteen hundred and sixty-six. There was not a heart within miles that did not respond to the beautiful testimony of the following obituary notice, cut from a paper of the day, but treasured unmarked and undated.

"Last Friday, Ivy Mills witnessed a sorrowing spectacle. The mortal remains of Mrs. Mary B. Willcox were consigned to their last home, to rest there till judgment day, beside those of her husband, James Willcox, in the old family burying ground. About twenty clergymen, including the Right Rev. Bishop, a personal friend of the deceased for more than twenty years, led the procession, composed of more than fifty relatives and a vast number of sorrowing friends. Never was grief more sincere, for everyone there knew that a dear friend had gone forth from amongst them, whose loss should be sincerely felt and whose place could never be supplied. For nearly fifty years had the hospitable mistress of Ivy Mills discharged her duties to God and man in a way that no one who had the happiness of knowing her can ever forget. Converted to Catholicity in her youth, she embraced her adopted religion with all the steadfastness, ardor and enthusiasm her warm heart was capable of. Its divine precepts becoming the rule of her life and the light of her actions, she was never satisfied unless when putting them into practical operation. For a long time, the only place where the few Catholics of the neighborhood could assemble for the Holy Sacrifice, was a chapel in the old Willcox mansion, but, about fifteen years ago, owing to her generous exertions, nobly seconded by those of other members of the family, the beautiful little church of St. Thomas was erected, which is now the centre of a flourishing congregation. For many years the students of St. Charles Seminary gratefully quitted their hot city residence in the summer season, for the cool sequestered shades of Ivy Mills, and many a good priest, now scattered

over all parts of the Union, when reading these lines, will sigh to think that his old, kind friend Mrs. Willcox is no more. Always desirous to promote the glory of our dear Lord, she was active in every charity, and her heart ever yearned with the wish to do good to her fellow-beings. Mother of a large family of children, some of whom survive her, she raised them all as a Christian mother should, and never neglected anything that could promote their temporal and eternal welfare. In losing her, they feel they have lost their best friend on earth, but her example is a rich legacy, and heaven will grant them the grace to bear their affliction in the proper spirit.

“For seventy years had she stood at her post, bravely confronting the inevitable troubles of earth, for twelve years unaided and uncheered by the beloved partner of her youth who died in 1854, when, in obedience to the merciful law of Nature, the time came at last for the weary spirit to find repose. For several years past, her health had not been good, but she uttered no complaint, resigning herself meekly and cheerfully to the will of her Redeemer. During her last illness, though her sufferings were severe, she bore them with the fortitude of a martyr, and last Tuesday evening, the 20th inst., after partaking of the rites of the Church in the presence of her children and friends, her lamp of life being burned out, she calmly and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord.

“Good Christian wife, good Christian mother, good Christian friend, farewell! Let one who is no relation of thine, but who is proud to call thee friend, drop a tear to thy memory, and earnestly pray that the dear Lord Jesus thou hast served so well, may soon admit thee into a place of refreshment, light, and peace forever and ever.”

Such was the testimony borne to her virtues, such the tribute paid to her faithful friendship, such the blessed memory she left blossoming on the earth from which she passed away without reluctance and in humble hope. And, finally, such was the woman to whom were addressed



the letters from which the following facts, thoughts, and historical incidents have been carefully gathered for the pages of the *Records*. The writers were priests and "Seminarians" for the most part, with whom the hospitality of her home, and the kindness of her heart, brought her into relations of singular familiarity and interest. In the year eighteen hundred and forty-two, Mr. James M. Willcox offered to Bishop Kenrick—Francis Patrick Kenrick, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore—the use of a good sized house on his farm at Ivy Mills, in order that the students of the Seminary at St. Charles Borromeo, might spend their summer vacations, free of extra expense, in a quiet and healthy country retreat. The Bishop accepted the offer, which was yearly renewed and accepted, (with exception of "the year of the riots") until eighteen hundred and fifty-four, the time of Mr. Willcox's death. During these happy summer days, many warm friendships were nurtured into strength and endurance, and many an earnest young heart, drooping in a delicate frame and sensitive organization, taught to admire, to trust, and to confide in Mrs. Willcox. The letters are as varied as their writers. Priests of foreign birth, strange to this country and laboring anxiously to make it their own for the Master's sake. Seminarians in the first flush of their devotion, and older men already worn with the weariness of the barren wilderness of the world—they all wrote freely and fully to their fostering mother. A happy and beautiful contentment is a marked characteristic of the whole correspondence, and the personality of Mrs. Willcox dominates it with a strong and gracious sweetness that wins from each writer an affectionate respect. They furnish, as historical data, many of those trivial daily incidents which oftentimes decide most important questions, and they testify clearly, in several cases, to the intentions and characteristics of those who stand forth brightly from the background of the history of the Catholic Church in America during the last one hundred years.



In eighteen hundred and forty-two the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo was about to close its first decade, and after several transient homes, was apparently established on the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Race streets—then known as Schuykill Fifth and Sassafras streets. It had recently been committed to the management of the Congregation of the Missions—familiarily, but erroneously, known as the “Lazarists”—the Very Rev. Mariano Maller succeeding as Rector the Rev. Michael O’Connor, D. D., upon the latter’s consecration as first Bishop of Pittsburg. The priests of the Congregation of the Mission continued in charge until sometime in eighteen hundred and fifty-three, and the successive Rectors, with the other members of the Congregation, were among Mrs. Willcox’s first Catholic acquaintances, her warmest friends, and her spiritual advisors. The celebrated convert, the Rev. Virgil H. Barber, S. J., and the Rev. Edward J. Sourin, S. J., were also her friends, and have left the fact on record. The letter of earliest date—April 15th, 1842—is from Father Sourin, then at St. John the Evangelist’s as assistant to the Rev. Francis X. Gartland, afterwards Bishop of Savannah, and is evidently a congratulatory letter written soon after Mrs. Willcox was received into the Church.

“To

“MRS. MARY B. WILLCOX,

“MY RESPECTED FRIEND.

“Your kind letter conveys to me more consolation than I have words to express—much more, I am sure, than my humble services deserve. As I read it, I could not refrain from expressing the wish that He in whose name and for whose sake all has been done, may deign to look graciously upon our mutual efforts to serve Him. You speak of the unwonted happiness and consolation you now experience from having endeavored to correspond with the invitations of His heavenly grace. It is the fulfillment of his own sacred words—that in Him we should find peace for our

souls—that His yoke is sweet and His burden light. Should He ever think you worthy of that greater pledge of His love, a share in His chalice, a taste of His sorrows, may His grace render it as acceptable as that with which He now sees fit to refresh and strengthen you in His service. Pray that the same may be fulfilled in my regard. ‘Will I come to see you the first of May?’ It is really more than I can promise at present. I must be with my children of the Congregation on that very Sunday. It is the First Communion day—one of the greatest for them and for me in the year. And again I earnestly beg your prayers for both.

“I will endeavor to visit you soon after if I cannot do it before the First Communion. Please present my affectionate remembrance to all the family. I remain,

“With much respect,

“April 15th,

“1842.

“Your obt. sert,

“EDW. J. SOURIN.”

Two sparkling notes from the Rev. P. E. Moriarty, D. D., O. S. A., are of interest only as displaying the ease and grace of his social manner, and as marking the fact of his visiting Chester on a function of some sort on the twenty-fifth of June, 1842.

“MY DEAR MRS. WILLCOX,

“The news about Miss Caroline has put me in such good humor that I am determined, God willing, to comply with the request with which you honor me. I am indeed heartily delighted to hear that she is a Catholic. Father Kyle will do all that may be required here on the 25th, and I will do my best in Chester in the afternoon. As you may be nervous in that quarter in this warm weather, I deem it advisable to assure you that I will be the best of good boys, and will be so placid, so amiable, so conciliatory as to dispute for the palm of meekness even with our mutual friend, Mr. Sorin. I could not believe, as indeed I never intended it, that I delivered plain truth in a harsh and offensive

manner; but as what everybody says must have some truth in it, I have made a solemn resolution to mend my evil ways. Altho' I have already practiced, and with tolerable success, I think Chester will be a good place for displaying my benignity.

Alas! poor humming bird! He died before my return from Lambertville.

"Yours very sincerely,

"P. E. MORIARTY."

"16th June, 11 o'clock P. M.

"MY DEAR MRS. WILLCOX,

"I send you a small edition of the New Testament. I could not procure a new copy at any of the stores of this city, and I hope you will excuse me for sending one that has been occasionally used by me in the pulpit. You will bestow quite an honor on me by accepting of it as a token of my acknowledgement of your great kindness. The picture of our Blessed Saviour is not to be found in any of the print stores here, but I have already sent to London. I have not as yet recovered my spirits, which drooped very much as I got on the pavement of the city. I miss the little bird every morning, but to make up for the loss, I have, beside the usual ringing of the daytime, an additional chime from the hall door bell at night. I hope still more strongly to enjoy the hermit's life. Accept my humble and sincere thanks for your hospitable attention, which rendered the country more than ever usually agreeable.

"With sincere respect,

"Yours faithfully,

"St. Augustine's,

P. E. MORIARTY."

"25th June, 1842.

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The first signature of the Rev. M. Maller, afterwards so familiar, is affixed to a short note, under a pencil sketch of a tabernacle. There is no date, but Mrs. Willcox in her sketch of Ivy Mills, speaks of the tabernacle Mr. Willcox and she placed upon the altar soon after her reception

into the Church in 1842. It is probable, therefore, that this design and the note were sent to her during the spring of that year, or early in the summer, when he was sojourning with the Seminarians at Ivy Mills. It bears no trace of passing through the post office. Father Maller was well fitted to offer a design. He had studied architecture before entering the priesthood, and four years later was to form one of the committee which laid the foundations and raised in imagination and faith, the lofty walls of the projected Cathedral we now hold in such honor.

"Dear Mrs. Willcox,

"The above is an imperfect idea of the tabernacle which I think will look well on your altar. It is one foot wide by 15 inches high. If I have understood you aright, it could not be higher, and then to my eye, it must not be wider without disproportion. The figures penciled may be made by any common painter. I also send you the scapulars and the plant you left here. Pray for me and believe me

"Yours in Christ,

"M. MALLER."

The first of the students to tender his meed of gratitude was Mr. F. McAtee, in an exquisitely penned and carefully expressed letter, which only too decidedly marks the difference between the "manners" of the middle of the century and its close. Once more back in the Seminary, the summer hospitality was not forgotten nor slurred over, and the "duty letter" remains as a pleasant reminder of its writer.

"MRS. M. B. WILLCOX.

"Respected Lady,

"Agreeable to your request, I write to you a compendious history of my sentiments during vacation. In my first walk over your place, Peace and Plenty seemed to enliven the whole scene and forced me to exclaim: 'It is good for us to be here.' Proceeding onward in my path,

I beheld a cemetery ! 'I will go,' said I, 'and commune with the departed.' As I drew nearer, I perceived a cross. 'O grave, where is thy victory, O death, where is thy sting?' were the first words that I uttered. I paused a few moments and returned. Few days passed by before that we became familiar with your very amiable and happy family, and I must say that we have experienced every favor during our residence among you which generosity, urbanity and true Christian charity could bestow. Your conduct plainly demonstrates that you are actuated by the consideration of Heavenly wisdom according to the words of Our Saviour : 'Whoever shall give a cup of cold water in my name, amen, I say unto you he shall not lose his reward.' Each time that I visited your mansion, I was reminded of our Heavenly home, and often, especially when all were assisting at the Holy Mass, did I cry : 'The Lord is in His holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before Him.' I can safely affirm that I have never enjoyed such a vacation. The inventive genius of Father Barbelin; the delightful taste of Mrs. Jenkins, and yours and your family's many accomplishments, have contributed to our gratification. You think, perhaps, that I have been too much reserved ; it was not from want of confidence, but, rather from constitutional inability. I beg you to look upon the merits of my beloved companions rather than upon my defects. I would be happy to spend a second vacation with you if God's will did not call me elsewhere. We have left you with much regret, wishing all of you the greatest earthly blessings and life everlasting hereafter, where we hope to join you in uninterrupted bliss. Present my compliments to each member of your worthy family. Pray for me that I may persevere in a state which I have irrevocably chosen.

"Yours very Respectfully,

"F. McATEE."

'To our most liberal hostess, Mrs. M. B. Willcox.

"Phila. Seminary, St. Chas., September."



A short note from Father Edward J. Sourin of March 4th, 1843, is written from St. Mary's, but contains nothing of interest, being simply an expression of thanks for a surplice and the good wishes natural to the occasion.

This year—1843—brings in March the letter of the Rev. Virgil Barber, and is an expression of opinion on a much discussed and still unanswered question of non-Catholic incredulity. There is no other communication from him among these letters.

“WHITE MARSH, March 8, 1843.

“March 8, 1743.

“MY DEAR MRS. WILLCOX :—Your very acceptable letter of the 14th ult. reached me a few days since, and I sincerely thank you for this favor. But to your question. I never was at Naples, and, of course, never witnessed the miraculous liquifaction of the sacred blood of St. Januarius. I have too high an opinion of your piety of heart and penetration of mind, to suppose for a moment that the question is, without your saying so, not for the satisfaction of your own mind, but to satisfy some non-Catholic neighbor. It would always be sufficient to refer such a neighbor to the case of St. Thomas, which obviously was intended for such: ‘Thomas, because thou has seen me thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.’ All are not to be converted by miracles. Besides, consider who they are nowadays who say with the Scribes and Pharisees of old: ‘Master, we would see a sign from Thee;’ a suggestion that, generally, shows how far the mover of it for himself, is from true faith. But many saw the miracles of our Lord and His Apostles, yet never believed! A very respectable United States Senator once told me he would not believe a miracle if he saw it with his own eyes; he would think there was a mistake somewhere. This man died in his unbelief.]

"Best respects to Mr. Willcox and all the dear family,  
and the same to yourself

"Madam,

"from your obedient servant,

"VIRGIL H. BARBER."

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The letters of the Rev. Alexander Frasi, C. M., are among the most numerous and the most interesting. He writes evidently from the inspiration of a vivacious, gentle, gracious spirit, and has a bright eye for all that occurs. The mention of familiar places, and the comments on daily occurrences are quaintly foreign often, and his affectionate clinging to the Willcox family proves how homelike even the "stranger in a strange land" found their hospitality. The illness of Mr. Willcox in the latter part of 1843 called forth warm expressions of interest and affection for him and of sympathy for Mrs. Willcox.

"DEAR 'MA':—

"The budget has come just now—Friday evening at 6 o'clock. So much and so interesting is the news you give me in your letter, that I fear I have not time enough to write a word on the sentiments which each item excited in my breast. The address of the letter tells me that William has come to town, but he had not the time to call and see us. I believe it, but I am very sorry. You know already how I like him; I consider him truly my friend. To have seen him would have been an instant of sincere joy to me. Patience, Mr. Frasi, patience! . . .

"I was lately at Congress Hall Hotel. I saw Miss Ellen. She has been at the retreat. I guess she knows more about devotion now than she did when she was at Ivy Mills. She was an excellent character then, also, but I think piety is now her first concern. May God bless her and all the efforts she will make to give herself entirely to him. . . . Miss Eliza Campbell came to-day to the Seminary to see me with Mrs. Welsh—if I recollect the

name rightly. She looks healthy and pious, too. I did not know anything about her trials. Almighty God is the father of the orphan. He will take care of her, as she may be considered one of them. . . .

"Rev. T. Burke visited Baltimore last week. He had the pleasure of seeing dear Mary, who kindly sent her love to me. Poor child! she had written to me and I had the misfortune of not receiving her letter. I have determined to write to her to testify my gratitude. . . .

"Please to give my love to all the family and believe me.

"Ever your sincerely respectful and affectionate

"ALEXANDER FRASI, C. M.

"Seminary, 24th Nov., 1843.

"P. S. From the context of this scribbling, you will see that I had to write it at different times. Now the 10 o'clock bells are going to strike. I have to read a little of my office and rise to-morrow at 4 o'clock. Good-bye!"

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"DEAR 'MA':—

"Your letter which I received Thursday afternoon, could not but affect my heart with a deep sentiment of affliction. 'God's will be done!' I repeated with you over and over again, but still I felt my sensibility strongly excited. It should not be otherwise. For God has created our hearts to love, and provided it be according to His own will, He will be pleased by it. O yes, I cherish the most sincere and tender affection for Mr. Willcox, and all that belongs to him; I ought to love him, for he deserves it. I could not, therefore, receive without deep regret the news you wrote to me of him. I started directly, with the intention to go and see him and do for him all I could. But as the boat had gone, and to take the cars would have brought me to Chester too late—particularly on so stormy a day as yesterday—I resolved to start on the morrow. Had not the Rev. Mr. Sheridan gone to visit you, nothing would have changed my determination. But as I could not remain

with you longer than Saturday, my coming would have been of no use to you,—though to remain is very mortifying to me. I said Mass for him this morning, and I will recommend him to Mary, whose Immaculate Conception we celebrate to-day. I don't write you words of consolation, for as you remarked in your letter, consolation is not to be expected from man at any time, still less in the circumstances in which you are placed. Let us throw ourselves into the hands of our merciful Father, and ask him to help us, to wipe away our tears. Religion—yes, religion, dear 'Ma,' the influence of which you feel, is the only comfort of man. When all the world will vanish before us, when we will be alone, then Religion will still pour into our souls the sweetest balms of consolation.

"I cannot detain you longer. I will, as I always do in my poor way, pray for you and for 'Pa.'

"Be assured that you have a person who deeply shares in your sorrows in your respectful and affectionate friend

"ALEXANDER FRASI, C. M."

"Seminary, 8th Dec., 1843."

"P. S. Right Rev. Bishop Kenrick has told me that he feels very deep regret for the sickness of Mr. Willcox, and that I should make it known to you, whose affliction he cannot but consider with sympathy."

"MY RESPECTED FRIEND,

"It is with heartfelt pleasure I hear that Mr. Willcox is better, and may this find him still improving, and your own heart more at ease with regard to the issue of his severe illness. For although I am aware that you are ready to receive the chalice and the cross as well as the sweets of consolation from Him in whose hands are life and death, yet bitter indeed would have been your trial had He pleased to remove from you a husband whom all that know him have so much reason to respect and love.

He is now, I hope, out of danger: I would be happy to see and know it myself, and when I first learned of his danger, had I been master of my time, I would at once have started to render any service in my power. May I say that I did not forget either him or yourself where such remembrance might be of some service. Please to present my most sincere wishes for his recovery, and accept the same for your own health and the happiness of all the family.

“ With sincere respect,

“ Your obt. sert.

“ Dec. 12, 1843.”

“ EDW. J. SOUPIN.”

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“ SEMINARY OF ST. CHARLES BO., 20th Dec., 1843.

“ DEAR ‘ MA ’ :—

“ How could I leave unanswered two of your kind letters since the first moment I received them? Because I had no time. This is the true and only answer I can give to this question, and it will be, I hope, satisfactory. The proximate ordination of four of our young men brought from Ireland by Rt. Rev. Dr. O'Connor—which is to take place with that of six of your children—has increased the amount of my daily occupation exceedingly, since Bro. Maller being engaged in directing their Retreat, I have to supply his classes. I steal, then, a few minutes to assure you that you could never gratify me more than by imparting to me the daily improvement of Mr. Willcox's health. I thank you very cordially for the communications already given, so much the more in that they afforded me the great relief from the anxiety which I was in on account of his dangerous sickness.

“ The ‘ fuss ’ you have made is not only entirely compatible with, but it was a natural effect of, the crisis to which you were exposed. Please to remember me to Mr. Willcox and all the family. But, particularly, do not forget me in your prayers. May Almighty God diminish



the burden of your afflictions, if he pleases, and at all events give you most abundant graces.

“ Believe me,

“ Your sincere, respectful Friend,

“ ALEXANDER FRASI, C. M.”

The following extract from a letter of Father Maller displays the character of the priest and the truly earnest piety of his charge. The advice is useful for all time :

“ I cannot but very highly recommend the use of spiritual retreats. It has been the means made use of by the Divine Mercy to recall innumerable sinners from their evil ways, to confirm others in good resolutions, and to accelerate the progress of others already far gone in perfection. From this, you may understand how far I am from dissuading you from accomplishing your wish on this occasion. I regard as an indication of the will of God the assemblage of the following circumstances: 1st. When the thing desired is good; 2d. When it is desired with good intention; 3d. When no reasonable objection can be raised against it. Your case has certainly the two first; as to the third, you may see yourself. If you see no inconvenience in doing it, I see none. I suppose your absence from home will not give grounds for one. If, however, such is the case, remember that duty must always go before devotion, because—simply because—it is the will of God which we pray our Father may be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

“ And now, if you go to Baltimore as I hope nothing will prevent your going, I have two very grave things to request of you: the first is to make well your retreat, the second is to pray for me. . Your prayers then will become more efficacious—a retreat may do more than your past prayers. With respect to yourself, do not mistake false devotion for true, which consists in knowing ourselves and God, and in acting consistently with this knowledge.

“ I am with sincerity your's in Christ.

“ Phila. Feb. 9th, 1844.”

“ M. MALLER, C.M.”

From the constant interchange of kindly tokens, Father Frasi singled out one for the following beautiful reflections, thus embalming the fading blossoms of the camilla and the cactus sent to him fifty years ago.

"ST. CHARLES SEMY., 15 March, 44.

"DEAR 'MA',

"James brought to me your present. How to thank you for it I know not. For there is such delicacy of taste in the choice you have made, besides the intrinsic beauty of the flowers, that I would vainly attempt to express it in words with my rough language, or to acknowledge your extreme kindness in a becoming manner. The only thing I can say is, that I look upon your present as upon a token of motherly affection.

"I have mused over it, and I thought you intended to give me also an emblem in it of the priestly life I should live. I thought the white and fragrant camilla to mean the purity of conscience, the balmy odor of which must always be diffused from the ministers of the altar, and the bloody coloured cactus, the works of mortification and self-denial, which are a particular and essential part of the apostolic mission, since this is our inheritance. But as these virtues can never be obtained without the help of God, so the evergreen leaves of those flowers teach me to place a steady hope in Divine Mercy, which alone can lead me through the narrow road—a great deal more narrow yet for priests—to the crown of the faithful servant.

"If you have intended all this, since you know so well what are my duties and my wants, help me with your prayers that through the grace of God, I may accomplish the former and be relieved from the latter.

"I close for want of time, assuring you of my remembrance of you in the Holy Sacrifice, and of my sincere devotedness to you and all your family.

"Respectfully and affectionately yours,

"A. FRASI, 3.M."

The letters which follow are those of a student in the Seminary, of piety and promise which was all too soon brought to an untimely close. He died soon after his ordination, for which he was prepared at the College of the Propaganda in Rome. The interest of his letters—which are given in immediate succession—arises from the graceful and gentle spirit they exhibit, and the easy and natural description of his life in Rome fifty-two years ago. The same reflections might be recorded by an observant traveler and a Catholic at this date. The first letter precedes his departure from Philadelphia for his home.

“PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 30th, 1843.

“DEAR ‘MOTHER’ :—

“When I promised to write to you, I little thought that my letter would be a valedictory, but so it is. My fate is sealed. Tuesday morning, please God, will see me bid adieu to Philadelphia for a while, perhaps forever. Now that I see the moment of parting at hand, I begin to feel how hard it is to tear one’s self from those he loves. The bright prospects which are before me would indeed be dazzling were they not shadowed by the sad consciousness of leaving so many and so affectionate friends behind. But how could I expect it to be otherwise? Poor mortals that we are! The rose is not plucked without its thorns, nor the cup of pleasure drained without its dregs. But—pardon my philosophy! I had almost forgotten that it is a letter and not a sermon I am writing. So, then, my dearest, my most affectionate ‘Mother,’ we must part. I need not tell you how sorry I feel, not alone for leaving you, but for leaving all my fellow students and my kind Professors. Shall I ever have the pleasure of again seeing you? I entertained the hope of being able to go down to Ivy Mills before going away, but I have found it impossible. I must have patience till my return from the Eternal City. Till then you must pray for me, and especially don’t forget me while on sea. I tremble at the thought of

being so long deprived of the benefit of assisting at the holy Sacrifice ; and, also, at the thought of perhaps going to the bottom. But all is in the hands of God, to His holy Will we must be resigned. I flatter myself that in this step I am following His voice, and, therefore, whatever happens will, I hope, be for the best.

"I am overjoyed at hearing of Mr. Willcox's recovery. May God prolong his days, for I think they shall not be fruitless. My attachment to him and all his family is ineffaceable ; tis needless to speak of it, for words are but empty sounds, but I assure you that till death overtakes me, I shall never forget the kindness of Mr. Willcox and his family. Last vacation I look upon as one of the happiest periods of my life, were it for no other reason than its having introduced me to the friendship of such an inestimable family.

"James, I hope, has not neglected to nourish the little germ which I saw begin to bud before I left Ivy Mills. How happy I would be could I have the pleasure of his company on the voyage ! Tell him I expect to see him before long, stalking through St. Peter's with his cassock and clerical cap. What a meeting we shall have ! I believe I should not be so overjoyed at meeting my brother.

"Give my respects to Mark and William. I shall never forget Mark's little pleasure-boat, nor William's feast of binding oats, much less the pleasant evenings I spent in their company, so charmingly enlivened with the hearty chorussing of the 'Boatman' and 'Lucy Long.' And this reminds me of poor little Sister. How sweetly she used to play ! Don't forget to give her my respects. I had almost said 'love,' but I thought you might be scandalized. It would be impossible not to love such a combination of good qualities in a child of her age. May God bless her, she has the qualifications of a saint ! Remember me to the boys and ask them to pray for me. I need not ask you to pray for me, for how can a mother



forget her son? At any rate, I will make a bargain with you—do you pray for me while I am on sea, and if I get safe to Rome, I will visit the tombs of the Apostles, and say a prayer at them for you, and I will try to send you an account of some of the curiosities of the Eternal City. Meanwhile, dear 'Mother', I remain with greatest affection,

“Your unworthy son,

“JAMES BROWN.”

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A voyage to Europe was an undertaking in 1844!

Six months later, he fulfills his promise of writing from Rome, two weeks after the happy meeting with James Willcox had taken place in that city. The glimpse of the new life together within those time-honored walls reads like a message from another world, now that the friends have met again in death. The long years are bridged between the passing of the youthful priest, fresh from his first vows, and the time-worn but time-honored man who went out from us so recently. Early dreams and hopes had vanished for the last, but he had used well his gifts and served, also, as a soldier of the Cross. It was in the first flush of youth he spent these “two weeks” with his friend.

“ROME, June 2nd, 44.

“MY DEAREST ‘MOTHER’,

“How happy I have been for the last two weeks, James and I together nearly every moment of the day! I feel several years younger than I did a month ago, for then I was beginning to feel a little homesick, but the moment I threw myself into the embraces of James, I felt indeed that I was not alone, though far from home. What a meeting we had! You can better imagine it than I describe it. 'Tis enough to say that I scarcely opened a book for a week after his arrival, for how could I study at such a time? The second day after he entered the College nearly



all the Americans had a holiday ; we went out with him to show him the city, and to let him deliver his letters. But when the moment came for assigning him his post, then we—I, I should say—were troubled indeed. For as each one is located according to his progress in studies, we all thought that, *nolens volens*, James would have to go into one of the lower divisions. And as the students of the different divisions are widely separated, and have little intercourse with each other, I knew how badly James would feel in being placed among strangers, not to say anything of myself. However, I told the thing to the other Americans, and by putting our heads together, and by the happy circumstance of a vacancy in my division, we contrived to get him a room in the *camerata* with another Philadelphian and myself. This was a most fortunate stroke. For besides being more comfortable, he is under one of the best Prefects in the College. We concluded that it would be better for him to study Italian this year, which is now nearly ended, so that he might be ready to start fresh next year. For this we got the approbation of the Superiors, and besides that, we got permission for the other Philadelphian and me to go into his room whenever we liked, a privilege, by-the-bye, never granted to any person before. Thus you see that everything has concurred to increase my happiness by the arrival of James. How little I thought last vacation, when he and I first spoke of his 'going to Rome' that we should both be there so soon ! But 'the ways of God are not as the ways of men.' If we be only faithful to His grace all things will work together for our good. Happy indeed will he be who has no other desire but to fulfill the will of God.

"You cannot expect me to write as long a letter as yours, for you know my time is not at my own disposal. I need not say anything about my voyage over, for the troubles of that are gone with itself to the abyss of the past. I may remark that it was much shorter and more pleasant than

I could have expected. I was only three Sundays without Mass; and even on these I hope I was not deprived of a share in the communion of saints.

“As to what I ‘saw and met’ when I got here, I saw and met so many strange things that I could scarcely put them in a volume much less in the inside of a letter. Everywhere I saw piety and devotion. Even in Paris, that metropolis of the beau monde, I felt what it was to be a good Catholic. I made a practice of hearing Mass every morning during my stay there, and by that means had a good opportunity of seeing how things went. I believe there was not one morning that I did not see numbers, even of the fashionable young men, approach with the most edifying piety the table of their Lord. Drop into a church at any hour of the day, and you will see these same young men, with perhaps their bankbook under their arm, prostrated before their God begging blessings upon their undertakings. I speak particularly of the young men, for they are generally less inclined to piety than others. There is not a church where there is not some Confraternity of these young men for various pious and devout objects. I made it my business to ask the parish priest of one church how many males he had in his Confraternity, and he told me he had 212,077. This, mind you, is a Confraternity of the Blessed Mother of God, and as a certain holy man said: ‘Whoever is devout to the Blessed Virgin must be devout to God,’ you can now judge of the piety of the French. In fact, I was told by a gentleman in Paris that it is only a few of the very highest classes, and the generality of the very lowest that are not religious in France, and this notwithstanding all the efforts of the diabolical school of Voltaire. The first named of these are led away by worldly interests, and the last by brutal ignorance, which is daily disappearing. What I say of Paris, I could say of every town I passed through; of many—such, for instance, as Lyons—I could say even more. At Lyons, I visited the tomb of St. Irenaeus, a martyr of the second or

third century. I saw where he and so many other martyrs of that consecrated town suffered for the faith, and when I looked on the marks of their blood not yet erased, and on the pile of bones still preserved, I could not restrain the tears of joy and sorrow which flooded upon me. As for Rome—Religion is the business of every day there. It is always before our eyes in some shape or other wherever we turn, so that it is impossible to lose sight of it. If you only knew how false are the things said of Italy by American bookmakers, you would be so disgusted with the baseness of your fellowmen that you would feel inclined to put half of them in the Penitentiary, until they owned the truth.

"But enough of this for the present. You will give my 'love' to all my good friends at 'home' and some to little 'sister.' For yourself, you may take as much as you think I can spare. Pray, of course, as much as ever for me, but pray at least as much for poor James, with whom the confinement will naturally go a little hard at first. \* \* \* James is a young man of strong mind; pray for an increase of grace to enlighten his mind and to confirm him in his vocation. I have barely room to reassure you of my feelings of eternal gratitude and respect for all your family. Your own 'Son'.

"P.S. Please accept these alabaster beads, which I have had blessed by the Pope for you.

"P.P.S. I enclose a little picture of St. Francis de Hieroniso, which, though rude, has been, I am told, an instrument in the hands of God for some extraordinary events. Keep it for my sake."

There is one more letter in this series—the letter of his mother after his death in 1847. It was written in June, three years after the one James wrote from Rome. It is evident that he reached home only to die, but his race had been bravely run. It is also evident that he "came of godly parents," and that they met the ever old and yet

ever new sorrow with Christian patience and resignation. Peace be to them of whom we record this edifying and undying truth—"He giveth His beloved sleep."

"MANAYUNK, June 27th, 1847.

"MRS. WILLCOX.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND, You will no doubt before this have received Rev. Mr. Sourin's answer to your very kind favor of the 23d, conveying to you the melancholy intelligence of the decease of my dear son. I feel very sorry that I had not presence of mind enough to have written you in time for you to be present at the funeral, but, my dear friend, I was so grieved over that sad event that I never thought of anything else.

"I thank you, dear Madam, for the kind interest you have shown for my dearly beloved son. You will please accept of these few remembrances of him. They are not of much value, but in the sight of Him who died for us they avail much. The relic is of St. John the Evangelist. The Cross was brought from Jerusalem, and both it and the beads were blessed by his holiness the Pope. The picture is one which was given by the Abbess Markrina to my dear son, and has her name on it written by herself. Accept of these little tokens of remembrance of my dear son and pray for him. You would confer a great favor on me, my dear friend, if you would request the prayers of your son, and of his fellow students for my dear son, when you next write to him. Oh, my dear Madam, the loss of this dear child has been a severe trial to us, but it is a great consolation, and we may be thankful to Almighty God for having spared him to see us, and given us the satisfaction of performing the last sad duties for him. Please remember me in your prayers, and believe me to be,

"Yours respectfully,

"MARY BROWN."

The mother's letter bears a sad and touching memento of her son's life in Rome in the paper upon which it is



written. It is a fine, thin sheet, having an engraved view of the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, "*In Roma presso Go. Antonelli in Piazza di Sciarra, No. 233.*" In this day of photographs, illustrations, etc., it is difficult to realize the interest which clustered around these letter sheets, which came from afar and carried into the home-circle the shadow of what the absent loved one knew as something real. There were no other homely witnesses to the truth of written descriptions.

Putting away this little episode, we return to the even current of the years, and their accompaniment of letters, taking up one of the Rev. Father Maller, C.M., written soon after Mrs. Willcox had made the retreat he recommended to her February 9th, 1844. Father Maller's advice is always good in that it can be followed.

"PHILADELPHIA, March 30th, 1844.

"RESPECTED LADY,

"I had more than half intended to write to you during your retreat in Baltimore, but an uncommon press of occupation rendered it very difficult, if not altogether impossible to me. You need not be very sorry for it, for I had nothing very important to tell you. I may as well tell it now. By your long letter, I perceive that you especially caught at two things in my last, namely, at the rule for knowing the will of God, and the definition of true devotion. As to the first, I must tell you that the said rule, though good in itself, is not easily to be applied especially in some cases, and hence, if made too much use of, may easily cause a person to become scrupulous, troubled in his own interior, and peevish towards others. Take care, therefore, not to go always rule in hand, measuring every little thing with it. You may not see the inconvenience at present, but you might feel it afterwards. Go on with great simplicity. We are not bound to do always that which is best; it is enough if we endeavor to do that which is good. As to the second point, I was



astonished at your asking me in what false devotion consists. Why, it consists in whatever is called devotion and is not the true one.

"Mr. Frasi is about to start and presses me to come to an end. I obey, and request you to remember me in your prayers, which I want as badly as ever.

"Yours in Jesus and Mary,

"M. MALLER, C. M.

"P. S. I saw Mr. Penco yesterday ; he wished me to remember him to you, Mr. Willcox and family."

A letter from Father Maller now brings us face to face with the troubled times of 1844, and shows good reason for declining the summer home at Ivy Mills, lest the visitors call down wrath and ruin of the kindly household and the generous host. It is a sensible and courteous letter, as might be expected from Father Maller's former letters.

"RESPECTED LADY :

"Your letter of the 29th last did not come to hand but on Saturday night, too late to be able to send you an answer by 'Pa.' I found it to be such as becomes a fond mother : the title of 'children' given to our Students is amply justified by its contents. I must, however—cruel as it may appear—take from you all hope of seeing them reunite at 'Polly's' for this year, at least. It has been the opinion of our and your friends that it is not prudent, nor even safe, to have them together out of town, and under these circumstances, how could I expose you and them to what, though not probable, is not impossible? Your place has been too much singled out in the course of the few troublesome days, and the Bishop forbade me to send them anywhere, but especially to your place lest we should expose you to any inconvenience. I hope this reason will work in your mind as it did in mine, and console you until such time shall come as may enable us to

sacrifice every thing to the will of the all-governing and merciful Providence.

"I come to the second point. I must preface it with the words of the Lord's prayer: 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.' Were we to consult our own inclination, we would fully acquiesce in your request to spend the whole time with you, as we feel really 'at home' in company with a 'father' and a 'mother,' brothers and sisters, as are all among you. But God requires me to do otherwise, and this will suffice for your consolation, as it does for mine. It is only in company with our Students that we are allowed to spend vacation out of the house—unless we had a country house of our own—except in the case of a particular necessity, and, when on that account, prescribed by a physician. I will pay you a short visit to satisfy partly, at least, our debt of gratitude towards you all.

"Pray for him who is always a poor, unworthy priest of the Lord and respectfully yours,

"M. MALLER."

"To Mrs. M. B. Willcox,

"St. Ch. Bo. Semy.,

"June the 3d, 44."

This letter supplements the last.

"PHILADELPHIA, June the 18th, 1844.

"RESPECTED LADY,

"Notwithstanding my former determination to not trouble you—not to please you rather?—by sending any of the 'children' to spend their vacation at 'home,' I am in the necessity of doing the contrary at the explicit, but most earnest request of Dr. Eckard. He has urged me to let Mr. O'Connor go somewhere, and he has no friends to whom he may go, nor I any to whom I might recommend him except you, who, I know, are always ready to show them a mother's care. I hope we will never forget such

kindness and generosity as you show in your letter of the 12th inst. It is a faithful representation of the state of your mind, I doubt not, and I am sure you have no reason to fear that you are wrong. I appreciate the inestimable dispositions of your heart, and though you may feel as if walking in the dark, you may thank God that you could not take a better course were you helped and illuminated by a thousand suns. Happy darkness which leads to so desirable a state! You may have your own imperfections—and who is free from them in this life?—We are all sinners, some greater and some less, but upon the whole, you have no reason to complain. You know this yourself, though you say positively you do not. No doubt. Why should you care by what means you are led provided you be led aright?

"I must say a word about the last part of your letter. It is not on account of your supposed fears, but of our real ones, that we came to the said determination. Your generosity did not but increase those fears. You understand me, I hope.

"Mr. Frasi is getting ready to start on a tour, and I hope to accompany him. We go to Emmittsburg, and will come back through Baltimore. We will be back on Saturday next. Our course must be rapid.

"Pray for me and give my respects to Mr. William and to the whole family, and never cease to pray until you obtain for me what I want.

"With respect I am

"Yours in Christ

"M. MALLER.

"Mrs. M. B. Willcox.

"'Ma,' In a hurry, but sincerely I assure you that I am in great need of prayer.

"Won't you pray for your poor

"FR." FRASI."

Father Frasi, returning with the restored "O'Connor," writes as follows from the Seminary on July 18th, 1844,—one month later :

"I arrived safe with my and your child, O'Connor, at the establishment. About a dozen of the Students were already in. All well. Daily they are pouring in. By the beginning of the week, the studies will, I think, recommence. Father Maller is well. He tells me that the Sunday of the late riots, the inmates of the Seminary had another flight. He was among them. Courageous man ! So I say, who was peacefully in the country. But here, they were all frightened to death.

"Please tell 'Pa' his letters have been forwarded. Mr. Griffith is very much in a bad humour with you, 'Ma,' for your not having written him on last Monday according to promise about 'Pa.' Father Barbelin is at the Capes. Mrs. Stedvent is better, can walk, and go a little abroad. I have visited nobody yet, nor shall I ; I have so little time.

"Please tell William I got the Review number. I will have it read in a day or two. It is worth reading. Mrs. Smith and all Episcopalians should read it. My love to all. I can't send the bread in the pocket of Father Barbelin ; he is too far off. At the first opportunity, you shall have it. You don't say Mass, I suppose. Then you don't want it now. How is Mary ? Oh, tell her much love from me ; tell her to pray for me And you, too, pray for me.

"Respectfully and affectionately,

"A. FRASI, C. M.

"P. S. The town is quiet. Arrests increase daily."

August 2d, 1844, Father Frasi adds a "P. S." to a strictly confidential letter which is worth note for historical exactness in trifles.

"P. S. The Students will be twenty (in number) this evening. Mr. O'Kane returned to-day."

August 13th, 1844, he shadows forth a deep sorrow soon to fall upon the happy hearth at Ivy Mills in the reference to William's ill health. William Willcox must have been a most lovely and lovable character and one that made of him a son near to his mother's heart. Father Frasi also imparts news of interest to Philadelphia Catholics, who care to trace the growth of her churches.

"Poor William is not well! Though we should expect always to have joys mixed with afflictions, I really feel this very sensibly. Oh, try to get him restored! I love William very much: I cannot help feeling extremely sorry to hear of him as sick. Now I come to my news. I came out of Retreat last Tuesday. Children had Monday. They evidently have improved in regularity and piety. Classes have begun, and I have two a day. I am kept busy all the time with them and with the care of the house. We have a sick student—Mr. Mead—with remittent fever. He gave me plenty of occupation, but is now better. The number of 'children' is 22. Jennings has not come back, nor do I think it probable that he ever will. All we are well.

"One of the reasons that I do not write so frequently as I did before is that I have now, besides my former daily occupations, to write a sermon every other week, and learn it by heart to preach it at Nicetown. A poor beginner such as I am, is kept, you see, busy enough. I am very fond of my little mission. The children particularly attract my interest and attention. The church is filled every time I go there. Protestants come, also, but not in great number. I had several last Sunday. Though I 'ain't' a Yankee, they tell me they understand me well enough. I gave them last Sunday a sermon on a curious subject. Guess what it was? Modern miracles in the Catholic Church. The little congregation amounts, perhaps, to two or three hundred, all decent people and very quiet. There is even too much respectability in it to do a



great deal of good among them. Last Sunday there were six carriages before the church waiting to take their owners home. I had the pleasure of giving Communion to a young lady of a very respectable family, newly converted to our Church. Educated like all Protestants with ideas of pride and prejudice even within the house of God, she seemed a little troubled the first time I invited her to come to church to take communion, in order to give the public testimony to her faith. She seemed a little troubled, I say, not on account of the fast she had to keep so late, but for having to mingle with 'all kinds of people.' Grace, however, has overcome her prejudices, and she came quite satisfied—because she is very sincere—at being in the company of so many likenesses of our Divine Master. For He was poor and humble, and from among the poor people He chose His mother, He had His friends. Unite with me to bless God for all this and to pray Him to grant the grace of conversion to her mother, who, convinced of the truth of our holy Church, dares not overcome her prejudices and give up the world to follow Christ. She has confessed, however, that if she had to die, she would not be easy without being a Catholic. O world! O world!

"A piece of news I must give you that perhaps will sadden you a little, but I cannot help but give it. This is it—that most probably I shall leave Philadelphia very soon for St. Louis, Mo. I am waiting for an answer, but I fear that it will not be favorable to my stay. The order has come already, but reasons have been suggested to have them revoked. If they are not, I do not know that I shall ever be able to see you again. At all events, I will write to you and I will always call you 'Ma'.

"Truly yours,

"'FR.' FRASI, C. M."

"P. S. The Revd. Gentlemen of the Semy. send you their best respects & your 'children' their compliments

and their love. Those to be ordained sub-deacon are McLaughlin, Flanagan and W. Gennings.

2d P. S. The Revd Mr. Penco not come yet. We expect him by the end of the month. The date of this letter is not the above written date, but the following: Sept. 13, 44.

A letter from Mr. O'Connor, dated September 25th, 1844, mentions the number of students at the Seminary as twenty-four, "eight of whom have been received since vacation." He also states that the Rev. Dr. Wood "arrived here lately from the 'eternal city,'" and that Mr. Lane was in town to-day. I suppose you have heard of his removal from Chambersburg to Trenton." This was the Richard O'Connor who had been at Ivy Mills for his health in June and July of 1844.

The next letter speaks for itself of contemporary trials of the Protestant Episcopalians, of whom some were Mrs. Willcox's relatives, and Dr. Tyng a tremendous power among them. The same contest is going on to-day in the Conventions. Fifty years has not brought them peace.

"ST. PAUL'S, October 18, 1844.

"MY DEAR 'MA':—

"I, in due time, received your kind favor of no date, but from its P. S. I could trace you to the Hall. It was not till Saturday afternoon that I was apprised by it, that you were in town. You can have no notion how I felt when I read it, 'Ma' in town and not see her son!!! Well, perhaps it is all right. The more remote our earthly ties, the nearer our heavenly ones: the rays of Catholic love can elevate the soul above all sons even the darlings of our own bosom. This may be all very well, but still, the son does not like that light that only shows more distinctly the shade in which he is so dimly placed. This, too, is selfish.

"I am happy to know that you and the family enjoy good health. As for myself, I am each day and oft in the night called to see some one die. I should not be much scared by death when he comes for myself, for I meet his victims almost daily. \* \* \* William I am told, is not well, and I am sorry to hear it. I suppose you are by this time edified by the Convention, for it shadows forth the sort of union there is in her who is most united out of Catholic unity. Have you no prayers that God may open to them the gate of his fold, the union of his peace, the bond of his faith, the mark of his approval, the seal of his presence, the forerunner of his eternal rest? You can see by the papers that the Church Protestant is almost ashamed of her name, and seeks to be called by the name of her whom God has named with a name exclusively and forever her own, and which shall never be given to another. As no other name save that of her Founder can give salvation, so no other church can truly claim the name Catholic but her whom he sets before the world as 'The Holy Catholic Apostolic Church.' This must strike us more forcibly, just now when we see him make use of one of them to confound the rest, as to what name she must be called. The noble and gifted Tyng is for Protestant, the whole Protestant, and nothing but Protestant; and thus is Protestant fastened on her face as the outcast of God, the disobedient, contumacious, stubborn and sulky child. Just now she seeks to use the name of her mother to give her favor before God and man, but no! the Holy Ghost is watching them, but it is as he watched the tower of Babel to confound, to disunite, to scatter the builders, and show the folly of the undertaking—that their labor is vain unless God is with them, and that they can lay no foundation for any other Church is pretty clearly seen, for they know not by what name to even call it, much less to say, establish it in unity or preserve it in peace. 'My peace I leave with you,' says Christ to his disciples. Lo! it is not there, but it cannot be you seek for it in vain. It is nowhere but in the

Pillar and Ground of Truth : this Pillar is founded on the Seven Hills of Rome, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the first of which is Wisdom—and St. Paul says it (as a wise architect) the second, Knowledge, the third, Understanding, the fourth, Counsel, the fifth, Fortitude, the sixth, Piety, and the seventh, Fear of God.

“Wishing your next visit may pay the debts of the last,

“I as ever remain yours,

“P. F. SHERIDAN.”

“Love to all from Sister and myself.”

Father Frasi worked diligently on his Nicetown mission, and had his own troubles, such as many a priest of 1896 can fully understand. The same things bother them that “poddered” (so he wrote it) poor Father Frasi. Extracts from two letters—one of December 2d, 1844, and the other of January 28th, 1845, show the state of affairs in his “dear, neat, little church.”

“But what bothers me most, and takes up the little time my ordinary occupations would allow me, is the begging business in which I am engaged to clear off the debt of my dear, neat, little church. For this, many a step I have to take, and many a brazen face to put on. But patience, in spite of all! I cannot bear to see poor mechanics, who worked at the building, and, after waiting more than a year, have not received their money. I think it is too bad; it is cruel. I cannot bear it. I hope to see you. I know you are coming to attend the fair for the orphans; I will see you there if we live. By the way, my hope of coming down to visit you and family is gone. I supposed that the Rev. Mr. Rollando's health was at that time so much impaired, that he could not come. I would then have had a chance. But it is better that he is well, and I mortify myself a little.

“What news have you to give me of your William? Have you heard anything since? And James—does he write? Since the Rev. Mr. Wood's arrival I have heard nothing of



him. Mark I know is well, but he never writes or comes to see me. I would give I don't know what to see him happy. I like him so. It must be better than five weeks since I saw 'Pa'. The same reasons kept me from going to see him that kept me from writing to you. I trust he is well. Tell him, please, that I do not forget him. I can not."

"ST. CHARLES SEMINARY, 28th Jan., 1845.

"Occupation upon occupation may be heaped upon my head, but—I will not say why—I cannot lose sight of you. I am really engaged more than I should be, but we can't help it. The little church at Nicetown gives me more bother than I expected at the first to receive from it. I undertook to get it free from debt, and when I began to go to work, I thought I had but little to do, for the people assured me the debt did not amount to a greater sum than two or three hundred dollars at the most. I am not perfectly sure I know the whole of it even now. Every day some new things come out. A small bill here, another bill there, and so on and so on, never an end. In the manner the debt comes out at the present, it must have amounted to over \$500 when I first undertook to pay it. The Rev. Mr. McDevitt had a great hand in the work, and he wonders how such a great sum is yet due, but he cannot but acknowledge the bills, for they had been made, almost all, in his name. I have worked hard, and I do still work, but knowing from experience that this is not a good begging season, I have taken the advice of the Rev. Mr. McDevitt and of Mr. Sturdivant to try a Concert. It is troublesome beyond measure for me to enter upon business of this kind, but I had to pledge my word to the creditors that they should soon be satisfied, and now I have to keep it. I hope the thing will have a fair success, and if so, I will soon be out of trouble. You will not wonder after what I have told you to hear that I am getting a little thinner. But I have every reason to thank God that my health is very good. We have no sick in the



house, unless you choose to call 'sick' the few who have slight colds, which cannot be avoided at this season."

Early in 1845, the blow fell upon the Willcox family that had been anticipated for sometime by their friends. William Willcox died in February, and Father Frasi, as might have been expected, was the first to address an expression of sympathy to the bereaved mother of his beloved friend. Sister Mary Michaela, of the Convent of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Baltimore, writes from there to offer her condolences, and to give tidings of little Mary Willcox's reception of the news of her brother's death. Before the year was out, others among the friends were condoling with Mrs. Willcox on the very delicate health of this daughter, and almost before the grave had closed finally over the remains of William, she was fading from earth. William died at a distance from his home, having gone on that so sadly hopeful voyage the dying take when it is too late. He was not laid to rest in the family burial place for several months after his death.

In October of 1845, there appears a new correspondent in the person of the Rev. Antonio Penco, C. M. On the 18th of October, he writes a letter of farewell, preparatory to his departure from the Seminary in order to take upon him new duties at a distance. The priests of the Seminary appear to have changed their abode in several instances about this time, for another new handwriting is that of the Rev. B. Rollando, C. M., who writes from Galveston, Texas, on the 18th of November, 1845. The letter is such a picture in words of a different state of the country from that of the present that it is worth inserting. It is also quaint and typical in its expressions.

"GALVESTON, Texas, the 18th of November, 1845.

"DEAR MADAM:—

"The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be always with us!

"You will rejoice to hear that after a prosperous voyage of 17 days by railroad, by stagecoaches, by rivers and by

sea, I arrived at last in this town. on Sunday, the 9th inst., at 11 o'clock A. M., in good health and better spirits. Rev. Mr. Frasi will, no doubt, have already written you how we availed ourselves of that short stay in Baltimore to visit some of our friends, and how we narrowly escaped being precipitated down a bridge near Cumberland. I separated from this dear companion at Cincinnati, and embarked on the 'Matamora' for New Orleans. But I saw him again once more at Louisville for the last time. On board the steamboat I had to sleep—as many other passengers did—on the floor, but, still, my voyage was very agreeable. From the first day I became acquainted with several gentlemen,\*\*\*\*\*

"When I arrived here, there was nobody at the Episcopal residence, which consists of three small rooms and a small garden. Bishop Odin has not yet returned from Rome, and the Rev. William Brands, one of my old acquaintances in Missouri, had gone to say Mass at Houston. Our negro boy was likewise absent, and I had no obstacle to take possession of the whole house. All the companions I found herein were a cat, a small puppy—which ran away from me as from an intruder—a host of innumerable ants, and mosquitoes without end, which, for my consolation, I was told they would last only from the first of January to the last of December. It was now time for dinner, and a certain Mr. ———,—an Irishman by birth and Public Notary of the town—a school-teacher and sacristan in the bargain—took me to his house and regaled me with two huge tough pieces of beef, both salt and fresh, but strange to say, we had no vegetables—not even potatoes. A glass of yellowish, rainy water finished the repast. My fare at home has not very materially changed. At three o'clock, I was invited to sing vespers in the Cathedral, which I did with my whole heart. The church is a frame building, 50 by 20, not yet plastered inside. The sanctuary is a little more finished. It is covered with a painted canvass and presents a tolerably

good appearance. A large picture of the Miraculous Medal is above the altar, in the middle of two projecting columns, on each side of which hang the pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary. There is, also, a piano organ, and a German musician who plays on it, gives lessons of music in town, and uses his best endeavors to form a choir, which is doing remarkably well, for last Sunday they have sung a Mass in music for three voices. Besides our church, there are three other grand churches, all larger and better finished than our own. That of the Episcopalians is the fashionable one, and the best. Our beginning is very small, but I have no doubt with God's blessing that the little grain of mustard seed planted in this sandy plain, will soon grow into a large tree, and the birds of the air and the beasts of the field and the sea-monsters—very numerous here—will run under its shade for protection. The so called Catholics are very numerous. There are no less than seven hundred, but the true ones might be counted on the tips of the fingers. A very rich and pious family has lately come to settle here, and their example will do good. Mr. ——— is an Englishman and a fervent convert ; his lady is from Spain, and very pious she is indeed. Every morning she goes to hear Mass, and takes along with her her children, who, when Mass is over, are taught Catechism with the other children of the parish. A good example which ought to be imitated by all good Christian mothers. So, you see, that in every place God has his chosen servants whose sincere piety and fervent zeal shine the most conspicuously as they are surrounded by evil example of every kind. We have established the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Mary for the conversion of sinners, and sixty members have already joined it. The intercession of so powerful a mother will no remain without effect. \*\*\*\*\*Yours most devoted in Christ,

“ B. ROLLANDO, C. M.”

“ P. S.—The mail is very irregular in this country, hence I do not know when, if ever, this will reach you. If you

receive it, do not fail to write to me. I have already written a letter to M. Maller from the second day of my arrival. The thermometer here has been ranging from 50. to 80. and our gardening is just beginning."

On January 6th, 1846, Mary Elizabeth Willcox died—not one year after her brother William. Again the friends of Mr. and Mrs. Willcox poured forth their warm and tender sympathy. The Rev. Edward J. Sourin was the first to respond to the tears of friendship. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Academy of the Visitation, Baltimore, where Mary had been a favorite pupil and classmate; Sister Mary Michaela,—who had broken to her the news of William's death but one year before and who was also a connection of the Jenkins family—all are eloquent and soothing in the expression of Christian truths and heavenly promises. Father Rollando writes from Galveston his second letter, on February the 9th, 1846, and adds a little news before closing his letter:

"You will be glad to hear that I begin to be more pleased with my new station. Not only am I free now from mosquitos, etc., but likewise from some indispositions, which were caused by the changing of climate. Although it is raining almost every other day, still I prefer this climate to that of Pennsylvania, at least, in winter. Last month, I went on my second visit to Houston, and remained there two Sundays. I may have had fifty or sixty Catholics in the church, both morning and evening, and they seemed to be all desirous to have a priest residing with them. You will be amused to hear of a deputation sent to me when I was about to take my leave and return to the island. Two 'Paddies' came with Mr. Fisher, the Judge of the town, to see me and to try to engage me to remain with them, saying that the Catholics would do anything in their power for my support, and the Judge was most eloquent in pleading the necessity of a clergyman to make his residence



there. I thought all the time he was a Catholic, but I had never seen him in the church. He had an Italian countenance, but spoke some of the English language perfectly well, but I could perceive in it a mixture of Italian pronunciation, yet, his name was German. I was at my wits' end to know whom the Judge might be, and what was my astonishment when they told me, that he was a Mahomedan. My impression is yet that he is an Italian, and as he invited me most politely to go and see him, I will soon ascertain the facts. Many of the Texas people have changed their names. This zeal among the Catholics of Houston convinces me that they still love the Faith, and that their indifference to religious matters arises more from the want of clergymen than from their neglect. I tried to comfort them, and promised that as soon as Bishop Odin shall arrive from Europe, they shall have a resident priest. In the meantime, I will go to see them again in the beginning of Lent, and, if they give me enough to do, spend with them all that holy season. Emigrants arriving at this port continue to come in large numbers. The town is increasing very rapidly. Since my arrival, no less than thirty or forty houses have been built, some of bricks. Since my last we have established here a new society, called the Galveston Catholic Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Poor and Needy of the Town, who are very numerous, especially among the emigrants. This Society is all managed by the ladies, and as its object is to relieve the poor, so even Protestants are admitted in to it by paying twenty-five cents per month. It numbers already one hundred and twenty-five members, and the president is the lady I spoke of in my last. It will have a good effect for our holy religion, which is always solicitous not only for the spiritual welfare of her children, but of all mankind."

The war with Mexico soon after caused the good father some uneasiness.



"Since the commencement of the war," he writes, August 12th, 1846, "some confusion prevails in the mail department, all the steamers being employed by the Government. We only receive the news from the States at very long intervals, and I would not be at all surprised if my letter of May 5th, or your answer, should have been lost. But the truth shall soon be ascertained. The Right Rev. Bishop Odin arrived here in safety the beginning of July, with a good supply of evangelical laborers. One is at present stationed here, and two are now attending to Houston. These three are from Ireland; eleven more are in the Seminary at St. Louis, studying the English language. Four or five will come to Texas in the beginning of next winter; the others, who are only Seminarians, will be sent for as necessity may require.

"I had the pleasure to give hospitality to Fathers McElroy and T. Ray on their way to the army of occupation. If it was pleasing to them, after so long a journey, to recruit their strength here a little, it was far more agreeable to my heart that I could afford it. I had just been preparing some rooms in a new house for the reception of the Bishop and his companion, which they occupied, and one Sunday, to the great satisfaction of all, the good Father McElroy had the kindness to preach for me twice.

"As soon as the materials arrive from Europe, we will begin the Cathedral, which will be built of bricks, with stone foundation, and will measure 120 by 60. I rejoice to see from the newspapers that Bishop Kenrick has sent out his Circular Letter for building the Cathedral in Philadelphia. Is it to be built on the lot recently purchased, and adjoining the Seminary, or elsewhere?"

August 19th of the same year he writes: "On Assumption Day, we had about twenty-four communions, and in the evening, I established the Confraternity of the Rosary, and nineteen members signed their names.

Several more will join it. The frequenting of the Sacraments, you will see, is increasing, though slowly, though I have a firm confidence that Our Blessed Mother will do wonders."

In another letter, he repeats the statement that Bishop Odin had brought with him eleven Seminarians, one Irish priest, three Redemptorists for the German mission, and three postulants for the Ursuline Convent "which will soon be opened here." Matters in Texas were advancing in the ways of peace, although "they were firing the canon very often to recruit volunteers for the Mexican war. Many of our men capable of bearing arms have already started for their work of destruction and plunder. Let us hope that the war may not be long!"

February 11th, 1847, he has more progress to report in spite of the war. "Of late I have been very busy," he says, "but for the future, I promise myself some more leisure hours in which I will be able to entertain correspondence with my friends. The Bishop since his return from Europe has given to me the charge of the parish, I have, likewise, the care of the house, and in his absence from home, (which since July has been more than five months) all devolves on me. Ten days ago, we sent three new priests into the interior, and three more, who are here, will soon be sent. Eight nuns of the Ursuline Convent have come to establish themselves here, and they have opened a school last Monday, with about thirty scholars. In a few day—maybe months—we shall lay the corner-stone of the new Cathedral. It would have been laid long ago, had we not been disappointed twice in getting our bricks."

From Galveston, Texas, to Butler, Pennsylvania, is "a long day's journey," but the interest of the next letter draws nearer home. The Rev. Robert Kleineidan, missionary, affords an insight into the home missions, then wild and rude and far distant.

"You are aware," he writes from Butler, April 13th, 1847, "that our great friend, Rev. Mr. Mitchell, stays in Butler, too, where he has charge of the English portion of the Catholics. It is a pity that whenever I have to go abroad to pour the balsam of hope and joy into afflicted hearts, and to give health and strength to the weak, he has to comfort and encourage those who are found at home, so that we seldom happen to be in the same place together. I have to attend four other missions beside Butler, and the Rev. Mr. Mitchell is visiting three Catholic congregations within a distance of 20 to 30 miles.

"In your letter, you wished to know something about these places where I am preaching. To give you some idea of my respective missions, you must bear in mind the places I am attending are Butler, Clearfield, Great Western (iron works), Indiana, and Donegal Township, where at present a church is being built, while in the other places the churches are nearly finished for the use of the German and the English. The Catholic religion is flourishing everywhere, and churches are building in the most hidden spots. Some few years ago, there was only one church in the whole of Butler County, but now there are almost four  
\* \* \* \* \* I cannot conceal any longer something that has been for a long time the subject of great consideration; that is, I am on the brink of leaving Butler and Pennsylvania altogether, I hope, in a short time. I am resolved to ask permission of our good Bishop to let me go to Baltimore and join—the Monks. O dreadful! I will thus become, really and actually, corporeally and spiritually, not a Jesuit, not a Dominican, not a Carmelite, nor one of the Sulpicians, but, poor and humble, I presume with the grace of God to become a member of the Society of the Most Holy Redeemer. If you have ever seen one of those black gowns—perhaps in St. Peter's church, Philadelphia—who with untiring zeal preach the word of God to thousands of souls, and by their own peculiar system, do an immense deal of good, you may imagine me

shortly as one in their ranks. Of course, as individuals they possess nothing, obey most promptly their respective superiors, lead a mortified and severe life, but what is all this? Nothing in comparison to the gain, the salvation of one's immortal soul."

We take another flight to Galveston with a letter from Father Rollando, dated April 14th, 1847, and find that the church is steadily advancing there. "On Passion Sunday, we have laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral. The Very Rev. P. Timon preached to a very large audience, and a collection was taken up, which amounted to nearly \$200, more than two-thirds of which were given by one family. We have here the architect, Mr. Girard, who, in company with his brother, superintended the buildings at Emmittsburg, which were lately finished. I am glad to say that he has adopted the idea of my plan. It will be built in the form of a cross, in the Gothic style of the 13th Century; its length in the clear will be 126 feet, its breadth ditto, 60 feet; in the transept, it will measure 78 feet. There will be two turrets in the front, and two rows of pillars, forming three naves; that in the middle, 30 feet; the other two, 15 feet each. It will have an aisle in the middle six feet wide, and another all around the wall four feet wide. Beside the great altar, there will be two side-altars, placed in the arms of the cross, and two confessionals on each side of the side-altars—four in all. The baptismal font will be near the door, at the right as you go in, with a most beautiful railing before it. The sanctuary is divided into two parts, the sanctuary proper and near the great altar, where the Bishop's throne and the sedilla are placed; a step lower down, the choir for the ecclesiastics. On each side of the sanctuary, there is a sacristy; one for the Bishop and one for the clergy. A great part of the materials are ready, the plans are made, and the contracts written, and next week will be given to the bidder, and proposals received. By the next time I write to you, I hope it will be going on well. As soon as the church is finished, I will send you the drawings,



or, if you will prepare for me a good heavy purse, I will bring them to you myself. Do you not think it would be worth the trouble?"

In August of 1847, we find a collection of news items in a letter from the Rev. Joseph A. Gallagher, who had been ordained priest the Easter previous, at the Seminary in Pittsburgh, and "sent out here to Youngstown to live with a community of Benedictine Monks." (This was at Mt. St. Vincent's.) "My duties here are very heavy, as I have to attend to the English portion of the congregation, and, at the same time, be chaplain to a convent of Sisters of Mercy. The Benedictines are all Germans, and the greater part of them cannot speak a word of English. They are forty-two of them in community; three are priests, five are students; all the rest are lay-brothers of every trade and occupation. Bishop O'Connor was here yesterday on his visitation: he was accompanied by the Rev. J. F. Wood, from Cincinnati, who is going east for his health."

This is the first mention of the future Bishop and Archbishop of Philadelphia. The time had now come for the Rev. Mariano Maller, C.M., to leave his charge in Philadelphia, and we learn from the following letter certain particulars of his departure. It is dated St. Louis, Sept. 8th, 1847, and opens with his usual address:

"RESPECTED LADY:—

"I feel as if it were time to redeem my promise of writing to you soon after my arrival. I arrived in this city on the fourth. My health is somewhat improved. I am going to tell you some of the incidents of my voyage.

"We started from Philadelphia on Tuesday, the day after I left you in company with Mr. Magrane, who (as I suppose you know by this time) went to join the Redemptorists. The next day, very early in the morning, I left Brother Cesari in charge of the baggage, and went to introduce Mr. Magrane to the Redemptorists. I met Messrs. Duffy and Kleineidan. I said Mass, and then, with much difficulty, succeeded in getting out of there, for they kept me



as long as they could. I walked away as fast as I could, for fear of losing the cars, as it was getting near the hour, and but for a smart running of two squares, I should have been left. I had just time enough to jump on the platform of the last car. In my hurry, I forgot to deliver a letter I had for Mr. Duffy, as also to pay the hotel-keeper for a night's lodging.

"Whilst in the cars from New Castle, a great noise and continued hurrahs announced that some extraordinary personage was entering the car. And, to be sure, there was the Honorable Henry Clay. I had every opportunity of getting a good look at him, but we had to pay for our satisfaction in the rate of the speed of the cars, as, at every stopping place, the same hurrahs and shaking of hands, speeches and responses were reiterated. The next day, the same honorable traveller sat next to me in the car, but as I was no politician, I had no inclination to shake hands with him. At six o'clock P. M., the same day, we were in the stage from Cumberland to Wheeling. I slept in the stage very sound ; so much so that when I waked, I found myself hatless. My hat had gone overboard, and, therefore, all my endeavors to find it in some corner or other, were vain. On Thursday, about 10 P. M., we reached Wheeling, where a steamboat was waiting for us. We had time to take supper, and then took passage on board, but the baggage could not be put in at once, and as poor Brother Cesari's back was paining him very much, I told him to go to the boat, gave him the number of the cabin, and told him to go to bed at once ; that I would attend to the trunks. There were at the time, two steamers on the shore, and the Brother, by mistake, went into the wrong one. He soon perceived his mistake, but too late ! For the boat had left the shore, and was going down the river. He spoke to the captain and then to the pilot, but he got no answer. He requested to be put ashore ; he prayed, he insisted in vain ; he addressed himself to the deck hands, and promising something to them, with the captain's con-

sent, they put him on shore. They were satisfied with a quarter-dollar for their trouble. But now, the boat had gone far down the river, and Brother had to run up, for fear the other boat should start and leave him behind. He came fully in time, but how can I express my anxiety in the meanwhile! I knew not what had become of the Brother; the night was pitch dark; I searched every corner of the boat, I asked every person, but could get no answers that could assist me. Some thought they had seen him, or, at least, a man such as I described him. Others thought perhaps he was in the other boat. The most gloomy apprehensions pervaded my mind. I was not easy in any place, but going up and down, I would call his name aloud, and I had no means of ascertaining whether he was in the other boat or not, and I had now no hopes of knowing it until we should reach Cincinnati. When in this cruel anxiety, I beheld the Brother, coming towards me, and to speak of my relief is as difficult as to describe my preceding anxiety. A few minutes more, and we were steaming down the stream. When I write again, I will tell you the rest. I found Mr. Frasi getting up from a somewhat dangerous typhus-fever. He is daily improving, but still very weak. He sends his respects to all. I start to-day or to-morrow for Cape Girardeau, there to wait for further manifestations of God's will.

"Pray for the wandering priest.

"M. MALLER, C.M."

Father B. Rollando at this time had taken the place of Father Frasi as a regular correspondent. "Whilst the yellow fever is every day more and more raging in New Orleans," he writes from Galveston, Texas, September 17th, 1847, "carrying away so many of its victims, we in this town enjoy good health, thanks to God! Some of our citizens died, it is true, but inflammation of the bowels too long neglected was the cause; we had no case whatever of yellow fever. And although we might be

visited still—as the season is already far advanced and the heat is considerably abated, we hope that God will avert this scourge, at least this year.

“Our church goes on finely. To-day they will finish putting on the rafters of the roof, and in a few weeks more, it will be covered. The masons have finished the wall around, and have already begun the higher and lighter walls which rest on the columns of the large nave. The organ, too, is progressing, and when finished, it will not only vie with, but far surpass any organ you have in Philadelphia. Beside the great organ, it will have the Eeo, or what the French call *le Positif*, and the Italian, *la Lontananza*; two fingering boards; twenty registers, divided into forty stops. The front will occupy the whole back of the gallery, viz., thirty feet wide, six feet deep, three feet high. The bellows, four in number, will be placed in one of the turrets, and the pedals on each side of the gallery, leaving a choir for the singers twenty-five feet long and five feet wide. The plan for the front has been drawn by the architect of the church, corresponding to the whole building. The whole will be made and put in its place, by a German architect, for the low sum of \$2000. He desires to make himself known, and this is the reason why he works so cheaply for the first time, and he seems to be confident of his own ability, for he will not receive any pay until the organ has been placed in the church and examined by competent judges.”

It was October the 5th, 1847, before Father Maller was able to send from Cape Girardeau the account of his adventures during the last part of his journey, and the letter was not received at Ivy Mills until January 1st, 1848.

“RESPECTED LADY :

“I received yesterday your long expected answer to my first from St. Louis. I say long expected, not that you have delayed, but considering my earnest desire of hear-

ing from a place which I had begun to call my home. You have filled my heart with joy by giving me so favorable an account of my dearly beloved children, the students of St. Charles; after which I can well imagine the mutual emotions at the parting moment, and the consequent loneliness at Ivy Mills. I am, also, delighted with the reception you met at the Seminary on your first visit after vacation. I must, also, say that I feel most grateful to you, and all at home, who with such disinterested charity, have paid to my dear students a truly fatherly, motherly, brotherly and sisterly attention, both in my presence and in my absence. Now, to my adventures. We left Wheeling at last, Brother Cesari in bed, complaining of being very tired and sore all over his body, but in a day or two he got over his complaint. The first day on the boat was spent in striking up acquaintances. It was an easy matter, as I was known to be a priest, and nothing could be more conducive to conversation. In the whole of my voyage from Philadelphia to St. Louis, I met with the greatest attention and respect from every one."

Father Maller returned the courtesy and attention in the best manner possible. He entered into several controversies, and appears to have made good use of every moment of the journey in a faithful setting forth of the truth of the Holy Catholic Faith. He closes the letter with the following statement regarding his health and prospects.

"Since my last letter, my health has continued to improve, but not rapidly. The doctor here thinks that my case is confirmed bronchitis, which may last a long while before being cured. You may direct your letters to this place for me, as it is probable that I will be here a good while. I have found the "Screw" flower here, but of a larger size, so that I have been able to analyze it. Its name in botany is *Neottia*, of the family of the *Orchids*.

"Pray for your old Pastor, M. Maller."



It is worth remarking that during the year 1847, the letters gradually abandon their old form of folding without an envelope, and are written on four sides of the sheet of paper. The letters that came from the South—from Texas, Cape Girardeau, etc.,—were the first to adopt the new fashion.

Once more, "poor Father Frasi," as he often called himself (from some familiar jest in the Ivy Mills household) appears among the letter writers, after a long, long silence.

"ST. LOUIS, MO., October the 11th, 1847.

"DEAR 'MA':

"Your child has not forgotten his duty towards you, although he has acted in such a manner as to give you reason to doubt he had gone entirely astray. If I have been in fault in keeping too long a silence, I beg a thousand pardons. But you, on your part, will be kind enough to allow me to plead a little my cause. 'Poor Father Frasi' has been through such a press of business and troubles since his last letter to you as he could not relate in the short space of a letter. He has been sick, too, and dangerously sick, of a typhus fever, but is now quite recovered.

"The Superior of this house having been directed to leave this place for another destination, and for a long time no Superior being appointed, I was charged with all the care of the temporal interests of this large establishment; nay, with all the care of the temporal interests of the Congregation in America. Things would have gone smooth enough, had the 'Old Man' been here, but he was in Texas, and, generally, away from me all the time, and I had to attend to the most intricate matters. And what more difficult business is there than to have debts—heavy debts—to pay, and to have no money? That was my case for a long time, so that I had not a minute to spare till things were arranged by the appointment of a Superior.



And, lo! here of late, when I thought I would rest awhile, our good 'Old Man' is snatched away from us to make him a Bishop.\* Oh, I could not tell you the pain it gave me! And the trouble that his loss has brought on me, and all his children! God's will be done! In the meantime, we have only to pray that a successor may be appointed, who, full of the Spirit of God, may direct this congregation to its holy end. I will not speak of the heavy burden I have now upon my shoulders. This consoles me—that it does not make me so responsible as other duties that I had before. But of labor, I tell you I have more than a plenty.

"Now, of another trouble; in which you take a good share, I am sure. Very Rev. M. Maller is at Cape Girardeau (as I suppose you know) but his health is not bettering at all. Indeed, I fear it will grow worse during the winter, and this would be an additional cross for the Congregation in general, for it is the common opinion among ourselves, that he will be appointed to fill the place of Bishop Timon. What will be done for Philadelphia, I do not know. It is a hard matter to find one to fill the place of Mr. Maller there. We have, besides, received lately the news of the death of one of our priests at the College at Perrysville. He was in the last stage of life, and a very worthy and industrious member of the Congregation. You see, dear 'Ma,' that there are crosses for all. Mr. Maller while here told me much of your crosses, and you will believe it, I hope, when I tell you that I took a good part in your affliction."

That the very Rev. M. Maller was appointed to the charge of the house at St. Louis, that he returned to it from Cape Girardeau, and that he found his hands and his head fully occupied with the charges, we learn from a letter from him of June 1st, 1848. "The Archbishop intends to visit Philadelphia in a few weeks," he says, in closing, "M. Frasi's health is tolerably good now, though

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\* The Rev. John P. Timon was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, N. Y., in 1847.

not strong. He sends you all his respects. I must also pay a visit to Philadelphia, but I cannot as yet say when."

When Father Maller left the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in 1847, the Rev. John B. Tornatore, C. M., was appointed as Rector in his place. He filled the position only until 1848, when the Very Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., succeeded him. During the time of his rectorship, Father Amat went abroad, and Mrs. Willcox had several letters from him, the first dated "Paris, July 24th, 1849," and beginning simply: "Mrs. Willcox."

"We are in Paris since the 13th of this month, enjoying perfect health in the midst of cholera, which has been very bad here, but is now almost over. We had, owing to the prayers of many good persons, undoubtedly, a very happy voyage. As I fear our stay will be perhaps a little longer than we expected, I have thought I would write you a few lines to comply with your earnest desire manifested to me before my departure, though I have very few things to tell you. About the state of things here and in Rome, you will know all that I can tell before you receive this. The cholera has made great ravages in some places. The Sisters of Charity here at the Mother House, have lost forty-two Sisters of the disease during the months of May and June. In May, they lost as many as there are days in the month—thirty-one. The others died in June. At our house, none of the inmates died, notwithstanding some of them had the sickness, but all is over now in the two families. Please tell Mr. James that I paid a visit a few days after my arrival to the Apostolic Legate, made his commission, and gave him the letter. He was most pleased at hearing from Mr. James, and he seemed exceedingly interested in hearing news from the United States concerning the state of religion. He promised us a visit at the St. Laurence, which he has made already. I hope you have all the Seminarians at home and in good spirits. I learned that the cholera was increasing in Philadelphia.

I hope, though, it will soon be over, and that it will spare your family and ours."

The Very Rev. Father Amat was rector until 1851, and there are several short notes from him to Mrs. Willcox containing careful and exact directions for her spiritual advancement. From a letter partly illegible and partly destroyed, it is evident that he returned to France after his rectorship was ended, but at what time, there is no record. He states in this fragment of a letter, that he "commences to forget" his English. He was in France "to lead an expedition of about forty Sisters of Charity and four missionaries to Chili," expecting to set off on his voyage "about the 15th of next October." The Rev. Timothy D. O'Keeffe, C. M., writing (a letter of congratulation on the marriage of James Willcox) from St. Vincent's College, on October 21st, 1852, has this sentence "I heard a report a few days ago that Mr. Amat met his mitre in Paris; how true it is, I cannot say." As 'Mr.' Amat was Bishop of Monterey, California, in the course of his career, it was doubtless in 1852 that he was in Paris preparing to go to South America. The Very Rev. John B. Tornatore was again Rector in 1852.

The Rev. Timothy D. O'Keeffe had more of importance to communicate in his letter than the report about Father Amat. "Our church," he says, "is finished interiorly, except the floors, pews, and glazing of the windows. We are daily expecting the glass. It is indeed a very handsome church; none like it in this Western country except the Cathedral at Louisville. We are also building a wing to the College, 80 feet by 40 (not as it is represented in the engraving on the pamphlet, but far more handsome.) So you see, with the ordinary business of the house, the church, the wing of the college, it gives me a fair share of employment."

January 11th, 1853, there is a letter—the last—from Father Maller, which excuses himself from being present when the church at Ivy Mills was to be dedicated. He was

then at Emmittsburg. An unimportant letter from the Rev. John B. Tornatore from St. Mary's Seminary, Perry county, Mo., is the only other letter of 1853. The list had narrowed down, and the shadows were closing in around the happy home at Ivy Mills. The next—and the last few—letters which remain of the treasured collection, are those which were written to the widowed mistress, the lonely foster-mother, on the death of her beloved husband. Mr. Willcox—James M. Willcox—died on March 4th, 1854. On March 9th, five days later, the following beautiful expression of sympathy was sent to Mrs. Willcox by Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, long a friend (and a grateful friend) of Mr. Willcox, whom he had known, and whose friendship he had tested, when Bishop of Philadelphia.

“DEAR MADAM :

“I beg to offer the expression of my deep sympathy on the loss of your devoted and excellent husband. There is every motive for consolation in his exemplary life, yet, our holy religion encourages us to pray for his repose. I offered up the Holy Sacrifice for him on Monday, and several of your friends here were present. I shall again offer it on Saturday, when several intend to assist. I shall long remember your kindness in throwing open your hospitable mansion to me and the clergy at a critical time, besides your many other generous and kind acts. Please communicate to all the family my sincere sympathy in their affliction. With great respect, I remain, dear madam,

“Your devoted friend,

“FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,

“Archbp. Balt.”

“MRS. MARY WILLCOX,

“Balt., 9 March, 1854.”

In the letter, reference is made to the following incident: During the anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia in 1844, the life of the then Bishop Kenrick was in danger.



His friends advised him to remove from the city. One night, about twelve o'clock, a man (apparently a Quaker) aroused the family of James M. Willcox, at Ivy Mills, and applied for admission. It proved to be Bishop Kenrick, who, disguised as a Quaker, sought refuge there, in company with one or more priests, also disguised. They were, of course, cordially welcomed. The so-called Native Americans, having learned that several priests had taken refuge in the house of Mr. Willcox, sent an anonymous letter to him, threatening to burn his barn unless he sent the priests away. But he took no notice of the letter, except to keep men on guard at the barn until the threatened danger was past.

There is nothing to be added to the Archbishop's letter. The others are short and reticent, as though hesitating to encroach upon a grief so sacred, or, perhaps, those of deeper meaning may have been destroyed by her to whom they were addressed, as too intimately connected with her grief to become the property of any other than herself. It is as though active life ended for her with her husband's life, for there is no further record.

[In the collection of letters intrusted to the editor, there is one from Bishop Charbonelle, without date or address, and consisting of such advice and encouragement as is most useful to a convert, but not of historical value. There is also a number of letters from the Rev. Michael Wirzfeld, a student, when he wrote them, at the Seminary, and ordained by Bishop Kenrick on March 24th, 1849. They, too, are only private and particular instructions, as were portions of many of Father Maller's and Father Rollando's letters. Such letters could not be made public property, but they bear witness, in no ordinary degree, to the fervor, the strength of character, the determined will, which impelled Mrs. Willcox to go deep into the pure waters of truth, and climb the heights of spiritual longing. She was thorough in her practice of her religion, and untiring in her search after wisdom. May this record of her



kindle some heart to greater fervor. And may she rest forever in the bosom of her God !]

SARA TRAINER SMITH.

Philadelphia, October 10th, 1896.

LIST OF THE WRITERS OF THE LETTERS.

[Furnished by Mr. Joseph Willcox, son of Mrs. Mary Brackett Willcox ]

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|--|---|---------------|
| Rev. Virgil H. Barber, S J. Lived at St. Joseph's Church,  | } | Philadelphia. |
| Rev. P. E. Moriarty, O. S. A. Lived at St. Augustine's Church,   |   |               |
| Rev. Alexander Frasi, C. M. Lived at St. Charles' Seminary,  |   |               |
| Rev. Edward J. Sourin, S. J. Lived at St. Joseph's Church,   |   |               |
| Rev. P. F. Sheridan. Lived in Westchester, Pa , and thence removed to 10th and Christian streets,                  |   |               |
| Rev. Anthony Penco, C. M. Lived at the Seminary of St. Charles,  |   |               |
| Rev. John B. Tornatore, C. M. Lived at the Seminary of St. Charles,  |   |               |
| Rev. T. D. O'Keeffe., C. M. Lived at St. Charles' Seminary,  |   |               |
| Rev. John D. Jennings. A student at the Seminary of St. Charles,   |   |               |
| Rev. F. McAtee. A student at the Seminary of St. Charles,  |   |               |
| Rev. A. Rossi, C. M. Lived at the Seminary of St. Charles,   |   |               |
| Rev. James Brown. A student, who died soon after his ordination,   |   |               |
| Rev. Michael Wirzfeld. A student at the Seminary of St. Charles, ordained by Bishop Kenrick, March 24th, 1849,     |   |               |
| Rev. B. Rollando, C. M. Lived at St. Charles' Seminary, afterwards, moved to Galveston, Texas.                     |   |               |
| Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M. Lived at St. Charles' Seminary, and afterwards, was made Bishop of Monterey, California. |   |               |
| Rev. Joseph A. Gallagher. Lived at Mt. St. Vincent's, Youngstown, Pa.  |   |               |
| Rev. Robert Kleineidan, C. M. Became a Redemptorist in 1847.   |   |               |

## PAPERS RELATING TO THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

FROM THE PORTFOLIOS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE AT ROME.

*Collected by the Archivist of the Society.*

SECOND SERIES.

(Page 92.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. KIRBY.

“ LIVERPOOL, 5th July, 1845.

“ MY DEAREST FRIEND :—I leave this day for New York by steamer Great Western. I spoke to Dr. Foran about his subjects living out of the Irish College at Rome. He assured me that he had a long conversation with Dr. Hely, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and that he is satisfied that he had been deceived, and he is evidently unhappy at having written the letter ordering them to leave the College. The fact is he cannot bring himself to retrace his steps by a letter to Dr. Cullen. Dr. Hally of Dungarvan promised me that he would do his utmost to arrange this between Dr. Foran and Dr. Cullen. Dr. Hally is of opinion that these young men, who are now living at the Irish Augustinian Convent, should return to Ireland, with the exception of the younger Cleary, who as not having been concerned in the rebellion might either be re-admitted into the Irish College, or received into the Apollinare College or Seminary. Dr. Foran has now declared his resolution never to ordain any of them, except perhaps young Cleary, should he enter some well disciplined College or Seminary.

"Will you please to tell Mr. Malony to deliver my chest of books to the forwarding agent at Rome, in order to have them sent to the following address :—To the President of the Theological Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Philadelphia, United States America? My name is not to appear on the chest.

"You know all about the College Bill, at least as well as I, but I will add one word, namely, it is considered by all good people as fraught with the most direful consequences to Religion. There is now no resource but in Repeal. The party called 'The Young Ireland Party' is greatly to be dreaded. The former student of the Irish College, Mr. Meehan, is one of them, and writes for *The Nation*, which some style the infidel paper. Tell my good friend, Father Maher, that this day I send the 'far famed letters' to Mr. Lucas.

"A thousand most affectionate regards to all the priests and students, and in Jesus, Mary and Joseph,

"Yours most affectionately,

"† EDWARD BARRON."

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(Page 93.) BISHOP BARRON TO DR. CULLEN.

"ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, U. S. A.

"July 27, 1846.

"MY DEAR PAUL :—I take advantage of writing a few lines to you by the Very Rev. Mr. Melcher, one of the Vicars of this diocess. He is very well able to give you a good idea of the state of things in this country. He is a most worthy clergyman. I thank you for the two boxes of books &c. which you sent me from Rome. There has been some misunderstanding between the Bishop of Pittsburg and your humble servant, owing to some mixture of articles belonging to him with mine. As I packed up my books &c. before leaving Rome, this box must have been opened and thus some confusion caused.

"I have seen a vast deal of western country in America since I last saw you. I have been in the Indian Territory, confirmed 70 Pottowatomies (they are Catholics) near Sugar Creek and not far from the Osage River and about 60 miles west of this State. As people settle down very often regardless of having Catholic churches at hand, wherever one travels Catholics are found in this and other States; but afterwards the faith holds very loose to them.

"There is great corruption in this country generally, and more strongly marked with the pharisaical character than in any country that I have ever visited. The greatest ignorance regarding our principles of Religion is to be found everywhere, the greatest hatred of us, the most extraordinary unwillingness to employ Catholics; it is quite notorious that the being a Catholic is generally considered a sufficient reason to exclude such a person from any public office, if the Catholics are not sufficiently numerous to carry the election. Pride is pre-eminent and is found in every nook and corner.

"Though I thus write to you, Paul, I have not had in any country more consolation in the discharge of my sacred ministry than here in America. One can always be sure of doing great positive good with God's assistance, be he placed where he may in this country, and good which is sure otherwise to be left undone. Priests are most sadly wanted everywhere, but particularly priests speaking the German language. There is but little support for priests, and hence great difficulty in providing for congregations widely spread and scarce in number. The poor Irish with great faults on other scores give the principal support.

"Do you get any numbers of Brownson's Review? It is the most thorough Catholic periodical that I know of. You would like it. This gentleman is a most extraordinary instance of the wonderful ways of God. But the country is flooded with obscene works of the worst character. They are printed here almost simultaneously with their appearance in Europe.

" Please to present my profound respects to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, also to Dr. Kirby, Malony &c., and I recommend myself and family and friends to your prayers and sacrifices in Jesus, Mary and Joseph.

" Yours most affectionately,

" † EDWARD BARRON."

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(Page 94.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

" LEGHORN, June 5th, 1833.

" MY DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR:—You will observe by the date of this that I have made as yet but little progress, but as you perhaps have in Rome experienced some of the weather like we have had in this place, I thought better to write that you and my other friends might at least know of our safety.

" The passage from Civita Vecchia to Marseilles might be made easily in 48 hours, but the steam-boats on this coast are liable to great detentions. For instance, they stay one or two days in this port, and one in Genoa, to change cargoes and passengers. Our calculation was to reach Leghorn on Sunday morning, leave it on Monday afternoon, arrive at Genoa on Tuesday morning, leave it on this morning, and arrive in Marseilles in 24 or 26 hours.

" We made this place about seven o'clock on Sunday morning after a pleasant passage ; but some of the formalities of an Italian port were to be gone through, and no boat was permitted to come along side for nearly an hour. Mr. Sartori was waiting with the cockswain of the Consul of his Holiness, and soon found me and brought me on shore to his house, shortly after which he accompanied me to the Cathedral. I had a visit from the Marquis Romagna, (I believe,) the Papal Consul, accompanied by whom I on



Monday visited the good Bishop whose manner was most affectionate. On Monday night there was much rain and wind which towards evening changed to a strong south-wester. This made the Captain prudently determine that he would not put to sea until Tuesday morning. I arose at half past three and found the sea greatly agitated, a heavy surf breaking on shore and the wind increased to a gale; of course no putting to sea. An English brig which attempted to enter the port during the night was broken to pieces on the rocks; ship and cargo a total loss, but all hands saved, but without even a change of clothes. Three other vessels ran ashore. This gale continued through the day, and I had an opportunity of writing a few things that I had omitted in Rome. I was also called upon by Mr. Swords and two Irish Dominicans who are returning home, one of them from St. Clement's. I also met some of the officers of two American frigates that are at anchor in the roads, and found some of my Irish friends and acquaintances.

"Last night the wind got down, and now at half past five, having read my Office, etc., I am in expectation of being called every moment to go on board. The day is fine and the weather appears promising.

"The Madonna del Soccorso has not yet arrived here and I hope no accident has happened to her. I have here ascertained that the Yellow Bird of New York, by which I wish to send the boxes, will not sail before the 15th, so that if the shallop has outlived the gale, all is likely to be in time. I have paid fifteen crowns to effect an insurance upon them from this to New York at one per cent for 800 crowns, which I gave as their value.

"I learned here that Mr. Flanagan was yet at Florence on last Friday or Saturday, and no one could tell me whether he had yet left.

"Great preparations are making here for the arrival of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who is to be married in Naples to-morrow, and to leave on Saturday on his return

hither in a Neapolitan frigate accompanied by steam boats and other craft. He is expected on Tuesday, and after three days to set off for his villa in the vicinity of Pisa. There and at Florence, I am told, the preparations are upon an extensive scale.

"The poor page is sitting opposite me in a most melancholy mood, having had but four hours and a half in bed, and being just informed that the boat will not leave until late in the day. He asks: what use there is in getting up at so shockingly early an hour. Still, he finds energy enough to send his grateful respects.

"Adieu. When you meet Cardinal Weld or the Boden-hams, say for me all the kind things you can. Your own community, the good folks at the Propaganda, Cardinal Castracane, Rice, O'Finan, &c., and possibly you might see Mr. Englefield. You know all my friends and acquaintances. Of course when you see the Holy Father say that my humble gratitude increases for his kindness. Two other requests I have to add. 1.—That I be remembered at the altar and on similar occasions. 2.—That you remember it was into the mouth of an unprincipled pedlar, Peter Pindar, that the expression was put: 'That razors were not made to shave but to sell.'

"Again, adieu, and be assured of the esteem and affection of

"Your sincere and obliged friend,

"† JOHN, Bishop of Charleston."

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(Page 95.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"MY DEAR DR. CULLEN:—The young gentleman who will hand you this is Mr. George Collins of the Diocese of Cork, for whom Cardinal Castracane, when Secretary of Propaganda, gave me the place in the College of that establishment.

"I beg to hand him over to your kind care, assuring you that I have received excellent testimony of his good conduct.

"Yours with sincere esteem and regard,

"† JOHN, Bishop of Charleston."

"Cork, July 18th, 1833."

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(Page 96.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"WATERFORD, July 20, 1833."

"MY DEAR DOCTOR CULLEN:—After many tossings I arrived in Dublin and celebrated Mass on the 24th of June. Here very little, I may say nothing, was done for my collection, and I plainly saw that unless I exerted myself I could expect nothing. I met several of the Bishops, amongst whom was Dr. Doyle in an exceedingly precarious state of health. After a few days I went to Carlow, where I again saw him and your uncle, his V. G., from whom I received the kindest attentions. I waited for the distribution of the premiums and was delighted. Father Andrew accompanied Dr. Kinsella and me into the Diocese of Ossory, where I began my quest in the Parishes with every prospect of success. Michael parted from me in London to go home by Bristol and arrived safely. I found it necessary to go to Cork, not only to see my family but also to see the Nuns, and found several obstacles which will create some delay as to the time of their going out, but the mission is secured.

"Having made arrangements to come hither to explain the necessity of aiding my Diocese, I have been most kindly received by Dr. Abraham and his clergy who live in the most perfect harmony. I had a letter also from Charleston down to the beginning of last month which gives me the most pleasing accounts. I had determined to remain in this country for some months, in which I could have realized all that would make my missions independent, both in money and in subjects ; but I got a letter

from the Propaganda enclosing the copy of one from Haiti, which determined me instantly to abandon all and set off to try what I can do there. I know not where Jeanjean is and I cannot wait for him, so that unless I shall find some one very fit I shall go alone. I beg that you will assure the Holy Father that in doing this I act as I believe to be his wish, though seriously to the injury of my own Diocess; yet I believe I have no choice, for the matter is urgent. Should I be able to do anything, I shall feel it an obligation after my Haytian expedition, if I survive, to come back, and from the generosity of the Irish people who have shown themselves generously affectionate towards me, to obtain aid for Charleston.

"There is much news here, but I am pressed for time and cannot enter into details. I fear greatly that a successor for Kildare and Leighlin will very soon be wanted. You are aware of the death of Dr. Laffan, and I suspect there will be great difficulty in having his place filled. Some even go so far as to apprehend scandals, if not schisms, before a choice is made. I trust, those fears are groundless. No less than ten or twelve names are spoken of.

"Politics are rather cool and I am not deep in them, but I suspect that the enthusiasm for O'Connell is rather on the wane. The Government is also unsteady. The people have generally triumphed on the tithe question. The Repeal of the Union is yet a very mooted point. Anglesea quite despired.

"You are probably aware that Slattery is President of Maynooth. Some think of him for Cashel, but he wanted another friend of yours to say that if chosen he would consent. But this was all an idle imagination. Several of your friends in Kildare and Leighlin wish greatly to see you. I believe they have invited you, and I wish you would accede to their call and visit them.

"Will you present my profound homage and affection to his Holiness, and say that probably before this reaches

you I shall have set out from this country, and will exert myself to show that his kindness and confidence have not been misplaced.

"Excuse me to Cardinal Weld for not having written to him as yet, and say how gratefully I remember all his attentions and those of Mr. and Mrs. Bodenham, etc.

"Say to Mons. Mai that I shall write the first opportunity that offers when I have any communication to make, though I fear it will not be easy to find that opportunity. Give him also my best respects. You will not, of course, forget Castracane and my other friends, Fathers Hore, O'Finan, Rice, etc., nor your own good and edifying community.

"Believe me to be, my dear friend,

"Yours most sincerely attached and obliged,

† JOHN, Bishop of Charleston."

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(Page 97.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"CORK, July 31, 1833.

"MY DEAR DR. CULLEN :—I beg leave to introduce to your kind attention Mr. Patrick Ring, of this city, who goes out to the Eternal city for the purpose of entering the Capuchin Order. His Provincial here is my worthy friend, Father Matthew, and I have heard an excellent account of Mr. Ring himself, so that I feel interested for him. I got your letter with Lancaster's communication.

"Yours with esteem and regard,

† JOHN, Bishop of Charleston."

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(Page 98.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"HAVRE, August 16, 1833.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—You perceive that I am here in obedience to the wishes of the Holy Father, having quitted Ireland where I had the best prospects opening to me of collecting something for my Diocess, which would compensate for that partiality which has caused her so much destitution:—Vienna giving to the wealthiest,



France giving to the churches least in want the largest contribution, and Rome absolutely parsimonious, (the Propaganda, NOT THE POPE, I beg you will tell himself the distinction) in my regard, \* \* \* \* Ireland would have compensated me for all this, and just at the moment when a delay of three months would have crowned my efforts with success, I have relinquished all and come away hurriedly hither, where I arrived late last night and whence I sail to-morrow in the packet-ship Poland for New York.

“ There is a line of Packets from New York to Port au Prince in Haiti, and I shall probably take an early one of these soon after my arrival. But what am I to do for my secretary?—this good man who is paid for his expenses, but is not to be found when wanted for business. Should I meet him in America I shall ask him to come, though I anticipate a refusal from some expressions that he used to me in Rome to the effect that he should first go to St. Louis to see Dr. Rosati. But as I have undertaken the task I go, if necessary, alone. I would have got an excellent secretary in Ireland, a very clever man who offered to accompany me, but I was afraid to incur the expense at the hazard of being again treated as I was before. I shall do what I can, and Rome will again see what she saw before, but what appears to have been lost upon her, that the best whisperers are not the most devoted workers. I acknowledge that I feel sore upon this, and I wrote so to Cardinal Weld.

“ You are before now aware that my friend Slattery had been elected president of Maynooth, and lately so placed before the Propaganda as to make it likely that he will succeed to Cashel, and again leave a vacancy at Maynooth for either you or O’Flanagan or somebody else. When the vacancy of Cashel occurred, Slattery proposed to me to say that if appointed I would accept the charge. You know the reasons why I could not say that I would, until at least I shall have failed in my efforts to place the Amer-

ican Church upon a better footing than it is. The suffragan Bishops whom I saw made a similar demand, but I stated that even if the priests voted, and the Bishops recommended, still the Pope would, I believed, feel it his duty to say No. And so this effort of changing my place proved abortive. Cloyne and Ross would, I believe, have made a similar demand, but that they were informed it would be useless. However, enough of this.

"Doctor Doyle's health is rather better but he requires great nursing, and is yet by no means out of danger. Should you not go over to see your friends in Ireland, who are very anxious to see you, it is not improbable that you will have a visit before long from the Bishop of Ossory who recollects you well and esteems you highly.

"Will you say to Cardinal Weld everything respectful and grateful on my part? And give the Bodenhams my kindest respects. Cardinal Castracane deserves my gratitude, will you present it? Say to the good Cardinal Pedicini that I cannot forget his kindness, and give Mons. Mai my affectionate regards. O'Finan, Hore, Rice &c. are not forgotten by me and do not I trust forget me. Give my kind regards to your community. Michael is exceedingly grateful to you, and so is his father, for your attentions. I saw them on last Tuesday. I would have much more to add but that I feel it necessary to make my preparations.

"Present my humble and dutiful respects and profound veneration to his Holiness, and say that although I feel deeply my total incompetency for the task of San Domingo, yet I shall go relying upon the help which his prayers and blessing can bring down on my efforts.

"Letters or communications for me can be addressed under cover at present to the Rev. John Power, St. Peter's Catholic Church, New York. He will know where I might be and how to forward the communications.

"Believe me to be with esteem and gratitude,

"Yours much obliged,

"† JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON."

(Page 99.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"NEW YORK, Sept. 26, 1833.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have written a short official note to the Cardinal Prefect informing him of my arrival here, of the calling of a Provincial Council for the 20th of October, and of my intention, after its termination, to go to Hayti. I embark tomorrow for Charleston where I hope to arrive in about a week, and after a few days delay there to proceed to Baltimore where Purcell is to be consecrated on the 13th. Doctor De Nekers of New Orleans died on the 4th, of yellow fever. I suppose as a matter of course that Blanc will be his successor. I have not learned that Resè has got consecrated. My Diocese has, thank God, been saved from all sickness, and my clergy and people are in harmony and peace as far as I can learn, and everything going on well.

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"I shall soon write again. I am compelled to break off. Let Cardinal Weld know this and communicate it to Cardinal Lambruschini. Give my most dutiful respects to his Holiness, and believe me to be

"Yours with esteem,

"† JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON."

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(Page 100.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"CHARLESTON, S. C., December 16, 1833.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—Since leaving Rome I have had scarcely a moment which I could devote to writing many things which I wished, to you and Cardinal Weld, and now upon the eve of my departure for Hayti I but snatch a moment to give you an imperfect sketch.

"Leaving Ireland when my prospects were most flattering for making a large collection for my own Diocese, I

obeyed at once the wish of the Cardinal Prefect and Secretary of the Propaganda, to make my way for Hayti. I arrived in New York on the 21st of September and found the Council convoked for the 20th of October. The books packed up in Rome had arrived two days before me and were got without trouble, and everything safe and in as good order as when we made them up. They arrived in like condition here from New York. I found that one of the young men whom I presented to the Pope was Willis, one of our poets, who was paid for writing an account of his travels. He gave the usual Protestant travelling account of Rome, of the Pope, Cardinals, &c. And by having misrepresented my explanation at Cardinal Weld's he opened himself to an attack from me and gave an opportunity, which I turned to excellent account, of destroying his credit, and then vindicating the Pope, Cardinals and clergy of Rome. I had time to write only four letters, but they are extensively copied and greedily read. Young Walsh, who was at Rome, and his father and several Protestants have well sustained my vindication as did also the other young man whom I presented together with Willis. This has here done great good. Willis is not yet returned.

"At the Council a very general prejudice existed against me for what I had done in Rome in preventing the grasp that was made by private arrangement respecting Illinois and part of the North-West, and an opposition was privately organized in which Purcell was drawn to unite with the others and thus made a majority, leaving with me Kenrick, Resè and Portier; sometimes we had Dubois, but seldom, and then the others were equal. The great fear was that I sought to get some way into the Archbishopric, and wanted in the meantime to use my legantine commission to sustain me. However, much of what would have been greatly injudicious was prevented. The skirt of Illinois given to St. Louis is not one fourth of what it was originally sought to obtain. I at once voted for the Coadjutor



to the Archbishop, though aware from expressions of Doctor Whitfield that it was but the execution of a plan laid by Dr. Mareschal, before his death, to prevent the possibility of my being numbered amongst his successors.

“ The vote adding Virginia to Baltimore is a most injurious one, though, when I saw it useless to oppose, I, to try and conciliate, concurred in it, though the State is thereby sacrificed to what was the only ground urged, viz. the ‘honor’ of Baltimore, not the benefit of Virginia. The Archbishop has merely seen one or two places in it, and it is ten times better fitted for a Diocess than Indiana even with all Illinois; far more so than Alabama and Florida.

“ The newly erected See of Vincennes has Brutè, who is one of the best of men, but though my kindest friend, I did my best to keep him out for his own sake and that of the Diocess. But I was left in a small minority. Resè and Kenrick saw so plainly that a party had been formed against anything that I would introduce, that they and I concluded it was better that I should do nothing at this time. However, I sacrificed my feelings, and kept charity and affection, and we parted in friendship. But no effort was made to evade the meeting in April, 1837. I found that the money from France was distributed upon the same principle—considerable partiality. I got from Germany what met the second installment upon the house for the Ursulines whom I defer bringing until next year.

“ I found my own Diocess, the whole of the stations of which I have visited, in excellent order and considerably improved. The clergy blameless, zealous and efficient; the laity contented, and the institutions upheld. Two new wooden churches had been built, and emigration to the interior by Catholics was increasing. I brought two excellent young women from Ireland to join the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, and one student from Paris whom I ordained Priest on last Saturday, and ten from Ireland of whom I ordained three Priests, one Subdeacon; and the others, together with two I had here, to Minor Orders.



"I sent to the places given me in the Propaganda, Patrick N. Lynch, aged 17 and tonsured, and James A. Corcoran, aged about 14, only baptized and confirmed—both excellent boys and good students. My number of priests is now fifteen, subdeacon one, and ten other students—in all twenty-six; eleven Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, and five in another community: Dames de la Retraite, where I had only two priests with faculties upon my arrival. There were then four churches, of which two were deserted. Now we have five in S. Carolina, two in N. Carolina and three in Georgia, in all ten; and exertions about to be made for erecting a few others. We have also, besides our Seminary, an excellent house and garden for the Ursulines, and this and the lot for the Cathedral in the best place in the city. But as yet I owe about \$6,000 upon the whole of this. I hope next year to get more than this in Ireland, but I shall also have to incur a large debt for the current expenses and for bringing the nuns and also some more students.

"I wish you would explain this state of things to his Holiness and to the Propaganda, not that I expect from them more money than they promised, if they have it not, but that I feel that in common justice I ought to be as well treated as others who are more cunning. \* \* \* I complain not of the amount but of the distinction. \* \* \* I found also that I was grossly misrepresented to the Jesuits in Rome. But upon this I do not wish to dilate.

"\* \* \* I would have taken him (Jeanjean) with me to Hayti as the most useful, but the Bishop of New Orleans made him executor to his will, and I knew by the vote of the Council that he was likely to be Bishop of that See. This made me decline acceding to his request to wait till after Christmas without going to Hayti. This is the best time to go, though my hopes are far from sanguine from all that I can learn; and I should probably wait for Jeanjean until February, then his Bulls would arrive and he could not then come. So, though greatly to the inconven-

ience of my Diocess, I take with me a priest of my own who speaks French, and the sacristan of the church, a layman, who speaks Creole. My health is, thank God, very good.

“I have nothing in this that you need keep a secret, and I should wish Cardinal Weld and Monsignor Mai, for whom I have the highest respect, to know the whole. Ask the Holy Father’s blessing for me. Assure him of my veneration, attachment and gratitude. Remember me respectfully to Cardinals Castracane and Lambruschini, and to O’Finan and Rice affectionately and to your young men, and believe me to be with sincere esteem.

“ Yours,

“ † JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.”

“I know not what is doing in Kentucky, but I do fear the worst results if there be an effort to force Chabrat upon the Diocess. I believe something was arranged at Baltimore between the prelates who were in the secret, but I know nothing of it.”

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(Page 101.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

“CHARLESTON, S. C. 17th December, 1833.

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—I wrote to you a couple of days since and placed the letter in one directed to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, but as some way that letter has been mislaid, I now, just as I am about to embark, write more to excuse myself than to give you information as I have another copy of the letter to the Cardinal made out.

“I arrived in New York on the 21st of September, came without delay to Charleston, found everything in my Diocess in the most perfect order, made a visitation of the middle stations of this State and of part of North Carolina, then proceeded through Virginia to Baltimore, where the Council was held on the 20th of October, and found myself

in a minority with Rezè and Kenrick, generally Portier, and sometimes Dubois. However, we were able greatly to circumscribe the effort of St. Louis to grasp what Jeanjean had been endeavouring to get for him. Virginia is sought for by Baltimore for honor, (this is the expression), not for utility. The Archbishop knows less of the State than I do. I have travelled through it much more than he has. I saw it a lost case and voted in this instance with the majority for conciliation, though I stated my reasons against the vote, but the hope was vain. It appeared to be fixed that whatever I should introduce should be negatived. I kept quiet, and no breach of charity was effected, no unkind feeling produced. Brutè was named for Vincennes quite against my judgment. And the Archbishop said enough to show me that the Coadjutorship of Baltimore had been fixed by Doctor Mareschal, not only in the case of the present incumbent, but in that now sought for Mr. Eccleston, to prevent the chance of my being found upon the list of his successors. As soon as the proposition was made I instantly sustained it, to shew that on my part there was no wish of interference.

"Jeanjean is proposed for New Orleans and of course will be appointed. \* \* \* I would have taken him (Jeanjean) to Hayti, as I thought he would be the most useful. But the Administration of New Orleans objected, as Jeanjean was made by Doctor De Necker's will the manager of all his temporalities, and his presence was therefore required in New Orleans. Besides I knew that he would be the Bishop of that See, and therefore I stated my fears that he could not accompany me as early as was necessary, especially as the Holy Father and the Sacred Congregation desired that no time should be lost. Jeanjean was urging me to defer my departure until after he should have an opportunity of making his arrangements at New Orleans. This I could not consent to, so that unless he would accompany me in this month I should select another. He said he could not. I therefore take one of my own priests, Rev.

T. Bermingham, who speaks French, and one of the lay sacristans who speaks Creole. But this is a serious inconvenience to my Diocess.

"Leaving Baltimore I visited my Northern stations, then held a convention in Charleston, had a retreat of the priests, a diocesan Synod, and ordained four priests and a subdeacon, and gave tonsure and minor orders to the others. I then visited the Southern stations, blessed two new churches, and found, thank God, all things prospering. I have eleven Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, fifteen priests, a subdeacon, ten other students. One came to me from Paris, and ten from Ireland. I send two to the Propaganda. The Ursulines will come as soon as I am ready to receive them. They are looked for anxiously by many respectable persons. I hope with God's help to have everything soon in good order. Religion is making considerable progress in all our places. All our books, &c., are safely arrived.

"Present my affectionate and respectful compliments to Cardinal Weld; also present me respectfully to Cardinals Castracane, Lambruschini, Odescalchi, &c. Remember me kindly to O'Finan, Rice, &c., to the family of the Bodenhams, if in Rome, as also to the Englefields. Tell Count Le Grice that I spoke to the 1st Vice President of our Philosophical Society who assured me that at the first meeting he should be named. To the Holy Father present my humble and grateful acknowledgments and homage and affectionate attachment. I shall do what I can in Hayti, though from all that I can learn I have no great hopes. The Government of the U. S. has kindly given me the strongest letters to our consul and all our public officers. Remember me to the students and believe me.

"Sincerely yours,

"† JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON.

"I directed C. J. Davillier & Co., Bankers at Paris, to apply for and receive the 500 crowns the Propaganda was to give me for this year. Will you tell them to have it paid to him?"

(Page 102.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"CHARLESTON, S. C., U. S. A. 17th Dec. 1833.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—This will be handed to you by two young clerks of my Diocess, Messrs. Lynch and Corcoran, whom I send to the College of the Propaganda, that imbibing the literatnre and piety which there abound they might be well fitted to discharge the arduous duties which they propose to undertake here upon their return.

"You have conferred so many favors upon myself and are so much in the habit of conferring them upon others that I know it is unnecessary for me to ask your attention to my children ; and they whom I now send, have hitherto conducted themselves so much to my satisfaction that I have little doubt but with God's help they will give satisfaction also to their superiors in Rome.

"Present them then as such to my good friend, the Rector, and to his associates in that College, where I have spent some pleasant hours, and assure my acquaintances there that I cannot forget them. And believe me to be, Rev. and Dear Sir,

"Your sincere friend,

"† JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON."

(Page 103.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"POINT À PITRE, GUADALOUPE.

"3rd of January, 1834.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR:—I have this day landed here after a voyage of 16 days from Charleston on board a convenient ship, La Galathée. As soon as I arrived I found a schooner preparing to sail for the island of St. Thomas, for which constant opportunities are to be had for Haiti. It



is but two days sail from this to St. Thomas, and thence to Port au Prince about the same,—so that with God's help I hope to reach my destination by the 10th or 12th of this month. Though mid-winter, I find the sun exceedingly warm and like an approximation to our Charleston summer.

“In a former letter I informed you of my intention to bring a priest of my own Diocess (Birmingham), in place of Jeanjean, who, I suppose, will be Bishop of New Orleans, and who could not come with me at as early a period as I wished to come, as he was administrator of the will of Bishop De Neckers. \* \* \*

“The Archbishop of San Domingo died, I understand, some months since of, I think, cholera. From every account I can get the clergy of Haiti are in a most disorderly state, and very little prospect of my mission being successful. I should not wonder however, if the persons who before withdrew from undertaking what I go upon, should represent at Rome that there exist wonderful facilities. When some years ago they spoke to me upon the subject and thought of undertaking it, the difficulties were described in very glowing terms; but last October in Baltimore I was told by the same mouth that there could be no question of my success. God alone can tell. I shall do what I can, but the difficulties rise before me to a very formidable height. Tell the Holy Father that I do look for more from his prayers and zeal than from any prudence or exertion of my own. I shall do my best.

“The negroes in Martinique have lately been in a state of insurrection, but are subdued, and several hanged and shot. I know not how far this may influence the affairs of San Domingo. Besides, the Government has failed in making its payments to France according to the stipulation when their independence was recognized, and thus it is questionable what part France will take for its recovery. The island of Haiti has deteriorated so much from the sloth of its inhabitants that most of the ancient planta-

tions are gone to ruin. No sugar is raised, the coffee plantations are decaying, and though it is the most fertile of the islands it is the poorest.

"The appearance of the islands as we passed them this day was very beautiful: viz., Desiderade, on the right as we approached from the East; on the left was a low island called Basse Terre; next to that, Marie Galante, after Desiderade. We coasted along the grand terre of Guadeloupe, and on our left far below we left a number of small islands called Les Saintes. The great Palm and the Cocoa-tree, the brilliant verdure and the rich plantations are very striking objects to a stranger, and pleased me greatly. I have as yet learned very little of this island, but have heard excellent accounts of the Prefect and Vice-Prefect Apostolic. The Vicar of the former called on me to prepare me for the visit of his principal this afternoon; and I hope to see the latter at Basse Terre, not the island, but the south-western point of Guadeloupe, on Monday, where the captain of the schooner says he will stop for six hours.

"Adieu. May God bless you. Make my respectful compliments to Cardinal Weld, to Cardinals Castracane and Pedicini. Remember me kindly to Monsignor Mai and Mezzofanti, to your community, to those whom I know at the Propaganda, where perhaps you have already my two candidates, Lynch and Corcoran; and believe me to be with affectionate regard,

"Yours sincerely,

"† JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON."

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(Page 104.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

"PORT AU PRINCE, Hayti, January 21, 1834.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—I write in haste to be ready for a vessel which is just leaving this for New York. Monsignor Mai will have no difficulty in showing you the

letter which I write officially to the Propaganda. I shall not therefore repeat its contents. Say to the Holy Father that no man ever had more the gratitude and affection of another than he has of President Boyer. I seldom witnessed a more affecting scene than my introduction. After the formality was over he took me aside to speak in confidence. We opened our hearts to each other, for I saw that he was honest, and though forced by circumstances to do many acts which in truth were violations of all ecclesiastical discipline, yet there was scarcely room for him to act otherwise. If all here were like him my mission would have a speedy and happy result. But the Constitution is bad, the laws are worse, and the changes absolutely essential are not easily made and require the concurrence of many;—and of these many few possess the heart and principles of the President. However, God will do His own work. The people are well disposed but want cultivation. The clergy have been depraved, and Boyer's usurpations were in fact the only mode by which they could be restrained; and when a proper ecclesiastical mode is established the usurpation will cease.

“ My duty is neither light nor easy, but I shall be amply repaid if my labours tend to second the efforts of the Holy Father whom the Holy Ghost must have inspired, according to the declaration of Boyer and of the Vicar, Salgado, —a mulatto priest from the Spanish main who has done much good here. It is a most fortunate circumstance that Jeanjean did not accompany me.

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“ Adieu, I must close. Ask the Holy Father's blessing and prayers for me. Present my respectful and affectionate regards to Cardinals Weld and Castracane and to my other friends.

“ Yours affectionately,

† “ JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON.”

(Page 105.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

“PORT-AU-PRINCE, February 14, 1834.

“REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—I wrote to you four or five days since, accompanying my dispatch No. 5 to the Prefect of the Propaganda. This will accompany the duplicate of that dispatch, and probably will leave this in a couple of days, more probably by way of England than of the U. S., in which case it might reach you before the other. But as I see very little chance of the former letter not reaching your hands I shall not here repeat its contents, which were a history of the manner in which our conferences were carried on. I gave the account of four; the results of which brought us to the state of things described in the dispatch. The last had been held on Thursday the 6th.

“On Saturday I called on the President and had a long conversation with him, in which I manifested the expectation I entertained of his zeal in having those laws which were harassing to the Church, and degrading to the clergy, as well as those which assumed a right to interfere with jurisdiction, repealed or modified; and also my trust that although it could not perhaps be immediately procured from the other branches of the legislature, yet he might be spared long enough to have the honour of taking from the Statute Book of Haiti those laws permitting the marriage of persons who obtained divorces in those cases where they were not permitted by the divine law. He conversed long on this last topic, and told me he did not see how my assertions agreed with the conduct of the Holy See, for that Napoleon after his divorce from Josephine was validly married to Maria Louisa with its consent. When I objected to the first union that there was no marriage, the answer was her recognition and coronation; but this was the consequence of circumstances, not the recognition of a valid marriage. I must here remark that permitting this transaction to remain notorious and without any



official explanation to this day, has done more injury to Religion and to the honour of the Holy See at this side of the Atlantic than anything that I know of. This conversation led to other results both good and inconvenient, in which I hope the first may yet be found to predominate.

"After this and other topics had been disposed of I arose to take my leave, but he detained me, and I soon found a new ground for my being able to stand a little more firmly. Expectations are entertained of my being able, by influence with some of my personal friends, to serve, the interests of the Republic, to do which I have no objection, and to use which for the benefit of Religion I feel to be a duty.

"After this he requested me to allow his family to be introduced and that I would sit with them for half an hour, which I did ; and after chatting we parted in mutual kindness which I believe is on both sides sincere. Miss Petion, the daughter of the former President to whose widow Boyer is civilly married, a young lady of about eighteen years of age, had that morning been at Confession, and the President, upon her entering the room, remarked upon it saying he knew it would gratify me.

"Next day I dined with him at a very large party. He had invited me for the previous Sunday, but my feverish indisposition did not permit my availing myself of his kindness, and it was postponed. He placed me at the head of the table and on his right. I did my best to be as kind as possible in my manner not only to him but to all his officers of every colour and grade, of whom upwards of fifty were present ; besides the English Consul General, Captain Courtenay of the Navy, an honest bold Catholic, the son of an Irishman, and the Swedish Consul General who is also the son of an Irish Catholic though educated a Protestant.

"On Monday I gave a dinner to a party at which the negotiators and a few other principal officers were the guests, and we were most harmonious. But Tuesday came



the tug of war. I sent a letter stating that I knew it would be gratifying to the Holy See to be informed of the actual state of things between the Government and the Bishop of Macri and the Archbishop of San Domingo; that ugly impressions were abroad which it would be well to correct, and that since I came to Port au Prince I had learned much which would tend to excuse the conduct of the Government; that it would be well to give an authentic statement to satisfy the Holy See that no slight was intended to the Pope nor interference with his authority. I have reason to know that unless I had taken this step the future Bishops would be exposed to great inconvenience. I repaired to the Conference and found that our nineteen articles had been mixed up in a protocol which reduced them to fourteen, and omitted several of my most important requisitions; and some expressions were used which made me feel quite indignant. I am convinced that this was too visible upon my countenance, but I merely observed that I had acted foolishly and prematurely in having written to Rome that we had agreed, and to prepare the Holy See for a speedy conclusion, and that I told them I was preparing to return and expected to leave the island in a few days, and was now, I found, premature.

"They proposed the old question of the translation of the Archbishopric &c. I stated that when we agreed upon everything else, I should consent to have the Sees erected in the places they designated, but the translation must be arranged between the Pope and the President. They said the ratification would not be made here unless the Pope consented to the translation. I answered that I should advise him to it, but that I wished to pay him the compliment of having it altogether his own act. Article after article was debated. They proposed to strike out the first article, their addition, provided I would strike out my 'pourvu.' I consented. They sought to restrain the Bishops from the power of depriving a priest of his

parish without the consent of the President. I told them it would be only a waste of time to speak upon it. I NEVER would consent. They wanted to have the generic word 'censures' only, which, they said, included 'deprivation.' I said that as a question was raised upon it, I must have the word itself together with 'censure,' for nothing could induce me to have it in doubt. They struck. We had many other such, upon all of which I kept my ground until we came to the article about repealing the laws. They said they had consented to repeal several, but that there were others which, they must say plainly, the President could not procure to be repealed, and they specified the marriage acts. I said this was one of the worst, for it contradicted the divine law. They gave me the history of the vain efforts made in France, and of the disposition of the people of Haiti upon the subject, and of the absolute want of power in the President to do what I required. I said the conduct of France had no influence on me. I regretted the disposition which they described and hoped it would improve, and that I only required of the President to do what he could. They said they did not wish either to hold out on one side hopes that could not be realized, nor on the other to have the President exposed to continual applications under the cover of an article which the Holy See might always use upon the ground that some law of Haiti did not agree with the discipline of the Church; that they desired to observe the treaty in good faith and wished to have the articles explicit; that the article to which they objected was too vague and indefinite; that it would subject all their legislation to a sort of supervision at Rome to see whether it was incompatible with doctrine or discipline, and that upon constitutional principles they could not consent; that I had better reflect upon what they said, and if I did not altogether withdraw the article, I might introduce one which would answer my purpose without being liable to objections they urged. I said that we probably could

not agree for a long time, and that probably in place of being their guest only for a few days I must stay for some months. They said: 'so much the better,' and we adjourned to this day.

"The President has invited me to spend this day with him in the country, and I am told his commissioners will be there also. I have proposed two substitutes which I shall try in succession, if I cannot get my first article passed. And after much reflection and consulting with Salgado who, I suspect, is the one most deeply interested, as he in all probability will be the Archbishop, we both agreed that even with the omission of this article, the concordat would be the salvation of the Catholic religion in Haiti. I shall stop here until I learn further. I am really tired, for I have worked incessantly, and the responsibility of the fate of a whole island and its hierarchy and liberties, perhaps for ages, upon me has contributed to weigh my mind down to a little under its usual elasticity.

"Seven o'clock, p. m. I have just returned from the country where I met a pretty large party, most of whom including the President and his family, observed the law of the Church respecting abstinence; and the health of the Holy Father was given in a very flattering manner, and very particular attentions paid to me. The negociators were present, but we only fixed on Monday to meet at two o'clock. The Vicar-General and I were in one of the President's carriages, accompanied as usual, against my own wish, by a guard of honor;—however, it perhaps is useful to permit it. Upon our way home he told me the President had a long conversation with him, and told him that he would make every reasonable concession and use his best exertions to bring everything to a good conclusion. He also said that it was the President's wish, as soon as the concordat was arranged and my duty fulfilled, that I would consent to accept a commission from him to go on his part to Rome, and there make on the part of the Republic

such arrangements as would be beneficial to the Haitian Church. Thus I suspect, that although we might have some little difficulties and delays, all will with God's help be brought to an useful conclusion. I trust therefore that many months will not elapse after you receive this before I shall have the ——”

(The rest of the original manuscript is missing.  
F. KITTELL.)

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(Page 106.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

“CHARLESTON, S. C., 16th of Apr. 1834.

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—I place in your hands my particular friend, the Hon. Richard H. Wilde, a member of my flock from Augusta in Georgia, and during several years one of our most efficient members of Congress. Besides my interests he has another strong claim upon you, as he was born in your Diocese, though transplanted early to this side of the Atlantic. His uncle was the respected parish priest of Mary's Lane Chapel in Dublin. I have given him letters to Cardinal Weld and Monsignor Mezzofanti. Will you introduce him in my name to Cardinals Pedicini and Castracane, also to Monsignor Mai, and any others of my friends or your own that it would be useful for him to know? And if Cardinal Weld cannot conveniently present him to the Pope, I beg that you will do so in a particular way in my name. O'Finan and Hore might be of service and I am sure will, when you make the request in my name. I write in haste and shall leave him altogether to you, not only for Rome, but to procure letters for any other place to which he might go and you could aid. Adieu.

“Yours much obliged,

“† JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.”



(Page 107.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

“At sea, on board the packet ship Rhone  
from New York to Havre,—Mouth  
of the British Channel,

“MAY 13, 1834.

“REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR:—I begin here a letter which I hope to finish in Havre the day after tomorrow and to send by the first post; and, God willing, to travel after it as quickly as I can myself, so that probably within a week or ten days after this reaches you I may again be in the holy city.

“I arrived in Charleston from Hayti in time enough to perform some of the duties of Holy Week and all of those of Easter, and found, thank God, all my little institutions going on as well as I could expect, the priests all doing their duty, not a complaint that I could learn of against one of them, and our students, now eleven, all remarkably well conducted. I hope the two sent to the Propaganda arrived safe, and are well and properly conducted. Our female institutions are also in as good a way as we could expect for a beginning. The Ursulines await my return to accompany me. But our money is expended and I have, I fear, lost the opportunity of doing well in Ireland. France, somehow or other, has her preferences, and although I get something, yet I am always on the lower part of the scales. Austria has enabled me to pay the third last instalment of 4000 crowns for the house and garden that I purchased, but I had to borrow for the second, 4000 crowns, and I owe probably about 3000 more. But I have property belonging to the Diocese now worth \$30,000, besides having paid the expenses of educating the fifteen priests, (besides some in other Diocesses and some lost,) and supporting some of them on missions where they could not get sufficient, and paying also to aid in building our little churches, &c. very considerable sums.

\* \* \* \* \*



“As to American affairs, I am probably done with them also except so far as my own Diocese is concerned. Of one thing I am convinced, that either I am totally unfit for an American Diocese, or the great body of my brethren have made sad mistakes. They are well disposed, but their minds and mine are cast in different moulds and cooperation is out of the question; for I cannot approve of their principles of administration, and at the last Council they plainly manifested the most distinct want of confidence in me. I did not previously know them. \* \* \* I feel that I can do no good by interfering in American concerns. I do not now blame Rome as I formerly did, but I lament that whilst she imagines herself doing good, she has thrown an incubus upon the energies of the Church in America. I will give you one instance. The present bishop of New York has not one dollar, nor can he raise one hundred in his Diocese; and all his projects, visionary as they were from the beginning, are now seen to be failures. Yet in that Diocese, a bishop in whom the people could confide and whom they would respect, could in a year raise from 60,000 to 80,000 crowns for any purpose of Religion. The solution is simple. The people are principally Irish, and American in feeling, and they see that in the administration of the American Church the whole action is anti-Irish and anti-American. They are therefore inert. I know, though every effort has been made to conceal it from me, that they are now so convinced at headquarters of this that no other Frenchman is to be named for New York. But an effort is in progress to shut out the man that the people wish, and to get an Irishman, who has never been in the Diocese, for Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois. You are one of those in contemplation. But if they succeed in this, I have reason to believe that if any other but you be the person, the opposition will cease to be inert. I prefer writing this to you beforehand that you may so regulate as not to have any notion held out that I will interfere in American con-

cerns, or that I approve of what has been done. But I repeat ; the fault is not at Rome, except that the Propaganda is led by the whisperers. But I have no right to complain of that, for they are more numerous and more adroit than I am.

“Now for Hayti. I have said nothing yet and I have little to say ; for until I go to Rome and deliver to the Pope a letter which I have from President Boyer, and know its contents and compare them with what I have seen and what he has said to me, I shall not know what advice to give. I declined making any Concordat after I found a few tricks on the part of the commissioners, but I took a very decisive step which at once brought Boyer and myself into contest ; and I pointed out to him what I thought most congenial to the suggestions of Monsignor Mai, for whose judgment I have great respect. He then spoke to me in confidence, and begged of me to advise him and report to the Pope what passed between us. I shall be able to judge of his sincerity only when I shall know what he has written. The reformation of Hayti is possible, but it will be a laborious and trying undertaking. There is a people in many respects greatly interesting, but there are appalling obstacles. If the communication of Boyer agrees with what passed between him and me, I shall have hopes. But though my best reflections have been given to the subject, still it is surrounded by mighty difficulties through which I cannot clearly see my way. Still, I cherish the hope that the zeal of his Holiness for this island will be crowned with success. It would mortify me if he were disappointed.

“Thursday, May 15.—We are becalmed about six miles from Havre, and therefore I close this to be able to send it by the first opportunity that offers for shore. Since we have got a pilot we have been told of an insurrection at Lyons and an effort at Paris, but as yet our accounts are vague and unsatisfactory. But I presume these abortive efforts can prove no obstacle to travelling, and I shall lose as little time as possible.

"Adieu. Present my most dutiful respects and devotion to his Holiness. Give my kind and respectful regards to Cardinal Weld, whom, if you see that he desires it, you can permit to read this letter, for I do not keep any secret from him. Remember me to Cardinals Pedicini and Castacane; affectionately to Monsignor Mai, Father O'Finan, Father Kohlman &c., and believe me to be

"Yours very sincerely,

† JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON.

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(Page 108.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO HIS SISTER.

ROME, June 30th, 1834.

"MY DEAR MARY:—This will be handed to you by my good friend, the Rev. Dr. Cullen, who goes to Ireland upon a short visit and will, I trust, call upon you and explain the exact state of affairs, with which he is equally acquainted as I am myself.

"He has exerted himself to get from the proper offices here the documents you want, but as they were not ready for him I hope to carry them over to you. Would you give him a note of introduction should he need it, to Mrs. Ball, as I know they would be gratified by his conversation at the Convent.

"Your affectionate brother,

"† JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON."

"Mrs. Mary C. England,

"North Presentation Convent,

"Cork, Ireland."

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(Page 109.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO MR. M. J. BARRY.

"ROME, June 30th, 1834.

"MY DEAR MICHAEL:—I received the Italian letter of my goodly nephew, together with your post-script, this day, and felt much gratified at the receipt.

"The Revd Doctor Cullen, whom Michael recollects as his kind host here, leaves this city this afternoon, on a short visit to Ireland. I begged of him to go to Cork for a few days and to go directly to you for the purpose of seeing, by living in the house, whether Michael had become half as much improved as he asserts. I hope he will afford you and me this gratification. When he is able to fix upon the probable period of his arrival in Cork he will inform you in the appendix to this note from

"Yours affectionately,

† JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON.

"My affectionate regards to Ellen, the two Mariannes, Michael and the lancer."

"Mr. M. J. Barry,

"72, Grand Parade,

"Cork, Ireland."

(Page 110.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO HIS BROTHER.

"ROME, 30th of June, 1834.

"My DEAR EDWARD:—My good host, the Rev. Doctor Cullen, Rector of the Irish College of this city, leaves this place for Ireland this afternoon. I hope he will spend a few days in Cork, and perhaps the air of Winter's hill would be more pleasant than that of the Grand Parade, or an alternation might be useful.

"I know that it will afford equal pleasure to Emily and you, as to Mick Barry and Tom, to make his sojourn as agreeable as you can. You will bring him and Tom together, as I do not wish to burden him with more letters. With best love to the family,

"Your affectionate brother,

"† JOHN, BP. OF CHARLESTON."

"Mr. Edward England,

"Winter's hill,

"Cork, Ireland."

(Page III.) BISHOP ENGLAND TO DR. CULLEN.

ROME, 1st of August, 1834.

MY DEAR DOCTOR CULLEN:—I suppose you are after having expressed many phrases of astonishment at the silence of your friends here, especially as no account was sent to you of the proceedings of the Congregation on the 21st. But your letter from Paris was received by O'Connor only yesterday evening when he went on some business to the Rector of the Propaganda.

Cardinal Weld told me that he had packets of letters from Ireland, amongst which were some from my friend Eneas McDonnell, but though he said they were on the Tuam business he would not say on what side. I found enough in a couple of Lord Clifford's expressions to know that they were in favour of Dr. Burke and adverse to Doctor McHale; and from some of the expressions of the Cardinal to O'Connor and me, I saw pretty clearly that his Eminence was inclined to that side, if not fully upon it. But he said equivalently to me that he did not wish to converse upon the subject and would only be the channel of giving the Congregation the information that he had received. For many reasons I thought that any interference of mine in affairs of the Irish Church would on all sides be considered improper. Neither Palma nor Mai would give O'Connor any answer but 'that all would go well.' He called on Castracane, and he knew nothing. The 21st arrived, and the only answer that I could get to an inquiry from Cardinal Weld a couple of days after was that 'everything had been deferred'. Nor was O'Connor more successful at the Propaganda. On Monday, after Monsignor Mai had made his report on the previous evening, O'Connor went to him and stated that you had directed him to write to you an account of the result, as you wished officially to communicate it to the Irish bishops; but though he spoke, and examined, and returned to his questions, all that he could conclude was that Doctor Nolan had been



appointed for Kildare and Leighlin, but that no news of it should go to Ireland until the Tuam affair was disposed of, and that nothing was concluded about Tuam. He spoke of the mischief that would arise from a departure from the forms regulated with the bishops, and the flood of evils that would be let in upon Ireland if a door was opened to intrigues with the Propaganda. But he could get nothing. About an hour after night Monsignor Mai came to the College, and without coming in sent for O'Connor. He requested, urged and commanded him not to write to Ireland; so that some of your friends here suspect that an English party has the Irish Church in its pocket.

I was two or three times since with Cardinal Weld. For instance, on Tuesday evening he wrote to say that he would call for me if I wished to visit at Prince Musignano's that evening, which we did, but I said not a word of Ireland. Abbate De Luca had been with me a few hours previous. O'Connor and I suspected that it might be to see if we would speak on the procrastination, but we said nothing. The Cardinal told me he was going to the Pope on Thursday and asked if he could do anything for me. I thanked his Eminence and said that I had written to the chamberlain for an audience. Mine was appointed for Thursday morning at ten o'clock, and as I was to take my intrepeter with me, (though the Pope says it is unnecessary, but I feel otherwise,) the Rector of the Propaganda advised O'Connor to take that occasion of speaking to his Holiness upon the Tuam affair. But as I was on my last topic Cardinal Weld sent in his name, and of course the opportunity was lost. I met his Eminence in the ante-chamber, and we were as usual exceedingly cordial. O'Connor is about to make another effort to get an audience. Thus you can form your conclusions better than I can.

Doctor Baines had no hopes of anything but of getting Wiseman for his Coadjutor; this too has been deferred,

and his Lordship is not in the kindest temper with the Holy See. He asked me to travel with him to England by post, as he has a carriage and servant. I would, if my business was done ; but I fear I shall not get away for a month yet. Three evenings since we were riding together, and he gave me evidence for which I was not prepared. Nothing less than that he had requested Doctor Doyle to try and bring in the English bishops and their clergy, WHEN DOCTOR DOYLE WAS IN TREATY WITH THE BRITISH MINISTRY FOR PENSIONS FOR THE IRISH BISHOPS AND PRIESTS. But that DOCTOR DOYLE TOLD HIM THAT THE MINISTERS ALWAYS MET HIM WITH THE DISTINCTION that the Irish were bishops in title, and the English only Vicars Apostolic. When I expressed my doubts as to the accuracy of his recollection, he said that was impossible, for that nothing was more certain to his knowledge than that DOCTOR DOYLE WAS A LONG TIME ENGAGED IN THIS NEGOCIATION. And yet my friends, Doctor Kinsella and Father Andrew, abused O'Connell through all the moods and tenses for insinuating what seems to be VERY LIKE A FACT. Now I give you fair notice. Do not trust me nor yourself, when either of us comes in contact with a government. These same courts are dirty places, and the old proverb will always continue true : ' He that handles pitch will soil his fingers.' When I returned to Charleston from Hayti, the dogs that were set to guard against negroes began to bark at me, though previously they allowed me to pass.

"McOboy is with three or four other students and Mr. Miley at Tivoli. McOboy is exceedingly sick, and I fear dangerously ; at present he is unable to travel even as far as this place, otherwise I should advise him to try and go to Cork in the brig which leaves Civita Vecchia on the 15th.

"I know no other general news but what you will learn by the papers, and private I have none except what this letter contains ; all else here goes on as usual. Give my

respectful compliments to Doctor Murray, and any other of my Right Rev. or Rev. friends you meet with. Do not forget Hore or Father Andrew.

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"Now for my own affairs. Nothing as yet is done though I believe all is prepared, and I am led to think will be easy. Frezza was occupied with Bavarian business until about ten days since. I called on him, and after much talk I told him it would be impossible for me to mind Haiti and Charleston, and that in confidence I informed him that I wanted you as a Coadjutor. He asked whether I had your consent. I said I had no doubt of obtaining it if the Pope consented. Some days afterwards I asked for an audience, the second since your departure, and I told the Pope that I could not do what he wanted me to undertake unless he gave me a Coadjutor. He said that if I wished one there could be no difficulty. I then said that without asking his answer at present, you were the person I looked for. He was evidently quite unprepared for this and changed his manner at once. He asked if you were aware of it. I said that I mentioned it to you more than once, and said that I would present your name, and that your answer was that you were in the hands of his Holiness and would do as he desired. I told him that I wanted no immediate answer but wished him to be prepared. We then spoke of other business. O'Connor was present. I have spoken of this to no one else except to Cardinal Lambruschini, which I told you before. But I have written to the American Bishops and to my own priests saying that I would ask for a Coadjutor, and would present the names of you, Clancy and McSweeney. This was on Monday, the 21st. Yesterday I had another audience and the Pope told me that Frezza had been with him on the previous evening, that he told him he had only added assent to what was done in the Propaganda,

and that there would be no difficulty, as it was clear I should mind both places and have a Coadjutor. But I do not know of any day being yet named for the Congregation.

“ From this I conclude you will be named ; for I have not been asked for any other name, and his Holiness spoke as if no question at all would arise upon the name. I thought it my duty to give you this information which I consider sufficient to show you that, whatever might be the result in future days in your regard, at present God seems to have given me after a long struggle the prospect of seeing Charleston well sustained and my labours not in vain. Hence, without publishing at once your reasons, I think it would be prudent for you to take immediate steps for having this house provided for. O'Connor would, under certain circumstances which I think can be considered favourable, wish to join us. In any case I do not know that he would wish to stay here. We have conversed much and confidentially upon the subject. Yet for the present, his remaining might be of the greatest importance and necessity. I have great reason to think that O'Reilly would follow you. I hope you will go to Cork ; my brother Edward and Mr. Barry both have rooms prepared for you. Perhaps you had better lodge at Barry's and use Edward's horses. I have not yet got the brief for my sister. I have however hired a man who is copying it. It is natural that you should also now feel an interest in the Ursulines who will be accompanying me, and who are now only waiting my arrival. I wish you could be ready to go with us. Could you not commission some one here to send your books &c. by Leghorn ? One thing is clear ; I shall be a prisoner in Charleston until your arrival, and I hope not to be kept from visiting Haiti until Spring, unless you, as you must now naturally be, are anxious to put me out of the way soon by throwing me upon Boyer's hospitality for the summer and giving me a West India grave.

" Nine p. m. O'Connor has just come to say to me that he has seen Palma and that Doctor McHale has been appointed. He will probably write and give you particulars.

" Saturday, August 2, twelve o'clock. I have just seen Monsignor Frezza who had a conversation yesterday with the Pope, and now prepares to bring my business to a termination. He asked me whether I had your consent. I answered that you told me that you would do what the Pope desired, that I told you I would apply for your appointment, and that you left Rome leaving the matter in my hands and disposed to do what his Holiness thought proper. He then told me that the Pope would have no difficulty, and that I may consider the affair as terminated ; merely the forms to be gone through with. How I do wish you could come out with the nuns and me. I beg of you to take whatever steps you can to make no unnecessary delay. I shall now begin in earnest to prepare for leaving this. A Consistory was held yesterday, and the second notice previous to excommunication given to the ruffian Don Pedro.

" Yours with sincere esteem, affection and regard,  
 " † JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON."





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## CORRECTIONS.

PAGE	LINE	
13	25	<i>for " 1869 " read 1865.</i>
158	6	<i>Omit the sentence beginning with " His father," etc.</i>
"	19	<i>Omit the three sentences at the close of this paragraph, i. e., "His schooling," etc., down to "excellently" included.</i>
161	17	<i>for "Wilkes " read Wickes,</i>
166	16	<i>for "My schooner " read The schooner.</i>
"	17	<i>for "a signal " read an en-sign.</i>
175	9	<i>for "Duccoudray" read Du Coudray.</i>
187		<i>for "Dyval's " in the subtitle of the plate facing this page read Duval's.</i>
220	21	<i>for "Skow " read Snow.</i>
302	3	<i>for "liasque" read aliasque.</i>



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